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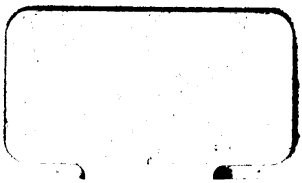

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A

TOUR

THROUGH THE

BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

DURING

THE LATTER PART OF THE YEAR 1800.

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLUTION AND RECENT EVENTS IN THAT COUNTRY.

By R. FELL.

Quid verum, atque decens curo et rogo,
Et omnis in hoc sum. HORAT. EPIST.

LONDON:

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1801.

[T. Davison, White-Friars.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following letters were, in part, written during the Tour which they deſcribe, with a view to publication. They were addreſſed to my Brother, and to that circumſtance muſt be attributed the uſe of the word *you*, wherever it incongruouſly appears.

To many of my ſtatements, I have avoided giving the authority of the Names of the Perſons from whom I derived them; in all ſuch caſes I have been influenced by this motive:—recently eſtabliſhed and feeble governments are often tyrannical, and were I to name the perſons from whom I had my information, when I ſpeak of the Batavian Government with cenſure, I might probably expoſe to diſagreeable conſequences moſt deſerving individuals.

March 31, 1800.

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TOUR

THROUGH THE

BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

LETTER I.

Capture of the Author on the coaſt of Yorkſhire, by a French privateer.—Character of the prize-maſter and his crew: their ignorance of navigation. The Dutch pilot: his advice.—Arrival off the Briel.—Politeneſs and hoſpitality of the Dutch commodore.—Account of the Briel.—The tree of liberty.—The face of the country.

Briel, October, 1800.

IF the intelligence of our capture has not already reached your town, you will be greatly ſurpriſed at receiving a letter from this place, when you expected us ſafe arrived in London. Scarcely twelve hours of favourable wind had wafted us from your port, when we perceived, at about the diſtance of two miles, a

French corſair, in the act of capturing an Engliſh veſſel. The ſight, you may believe, alarmed us, who were unfurniſhed with any means of defence, and could not hope to eſcape by flight from a veſſel built for purpoſes of ſwiftneſs and fight. At this time there were perhaps thirty ſhips in ſight, any of which it was in the corſair's power to capture; and I indulged the hope that in his ſelection of a prize, we might have the good fortune not to be the object of his choice. Appearances for ſome time flattered this hope: there was a brig near us, which carried more external marks of opulence about her than we bore, and it was this veſſel, rather than ours, which the Frenchman chaſed. There was ſomething in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty peculiarly diſtreſſing: as we might hope to eſcape, every one, I believe, thought himſelf privileged to repreſent the evils of capture in the worſt poſſible light; whereas, the moment it became inevitable we ſhould be taken, with ſuch facility does the human mind accommodate itſelf to circumſtances, every perſon became

became endowed with a large portion of ſullen reſignation, which anſwered all the purpoſes of fortitude, and is indeed, in men of ordinary habits of thinking, a ſubſtitute quality for that virtue.

Poor —— felt almoſt nothing for herſelf; but her ſympathy was deeply excited for Captain ——, whoſe ſhare of the veſſel, purchaſed by the accumulations of many years of induſtrious frugality, was uninſured. His was the loſs of property which it had been the labour of his life to obtain; it was a little ſtore for the winter of his days, to provide for the wants of exiſtence, when age and infirmities demand the quiets of indolent eaſe. The crew alſo claimed a large tribute of her ſorrow: each eagerly told his hiſtory, and received his ſhare of pity. They were all of them men who maintained large families by their induſtry; and I was pleaſed to find, that the concern which they felt for the diſtreſſes which their wives and children would ſuffer from their abſence, in this ſeaſon of awful ſcarcity, was unſpeakably ſuperior to any feeling of a perſonal conſideration. I can

love with all the partial affection of friendſhip the rudeſt of Nature's ſons, when I perceive in him thoſe delicate charities of affiance, which bind the individual to his family; and I conſider thoſe acts of public virtue which are founded upon violations of parental and private affection, as criminal offences againſt the holieſt laws of nature.

Our flag was ſtruck on the firing of a muſket, the only gun I ever heard (as the ſailors term it) fired in anger, the ſound of which yet tingles in my ear; and a boat from the corſair immediately took poſſeſſion of our veſſel. The captain and crew, with the little baggage which they were allowed to take away with them, were then carried on board the Frenchman; and it was in contemplation that the paſſengers, conſiſting of three females * and myſelf, ſhould follow them; but as I was perſuaded we ſhould be expoſed to much inconvenience and diſtreſs on board a veſſel that was crowded with men,

* The wife of the Writer of theſe Letters, to whom, with the ſincereſt affection, he inſcribes them; their ſervant; and a poor woman who was returning from the country to her family in London.

and

and devoid of accommodations, and I had an opportunity of remonſtrating with the captain of the republican on the ſubject, I prevailed on him, though not without difficulty, to permit us to remain in the prize. I now learned that the name of the corſair was The Chaſſeur, Captain Blackman, of Dunkirk, and that her depredations on the Engliſh coaſt had been uncommonly ſucceſsful.

The whole buſineſs of our capture was over in little more than half an hour, and with unſpeakable ſoreneſs and oppreſſion of heart, I ſaw the veſſel ſteer from the Engliſh coaſt. The high lands of Yorkſhire, towering in the clouds, were in ſight, and with eager eyes I gazed on them till they appeared to ſink in the water. What, under other circumſtances, would have been a ſpectacle which I ſhould have admired, chilled my ſoul. There is ſomething congenial to an ardent mind in whatever diſplays the ſpirit of adventure and courage. On former occaſions my departure from land, and ruſhing on the broad boſom of the deep, have filled me with ſublime and ſolemn emotions; the receding

hills, the vaſt expanſe of water, which the veſſel proudly ploughed, have ſeemed to me a ſcene of triumph—the triumph of man over an hoſtile element. But now I was torn from my connections, my home, and my country; and in the power of men whoſe character it has been to aggravate the infelicities of war. Though I gained in all the finer feelings of the heart, I loſt ſomething of the independence of manhood, by having for the companion of my misfortune that perſon with whoſe pleaſures and ſorrows mine are ſo intimately blended, that I feel the evil with tenfold weight in which ſhe participates. Alone, if I could not have been a hero, I could have been a ſtoic, but there was not a fear which ſhe ſuggeſted, ſuch is the electricity of affection, and the blind reſpect we pay to the feelings of thoſe we love, that I did not view with horror which almoſt amounted to the torture of real ſuffering.

The Frenchmen who had charge of the veſſel, conſiſted of a prize-maſter and three ſailors. I have rarely ſeen perſons of worſe countenances; I enquired, and found they were

were all natives of Dunkirk, and had never been at Paris, or I ſhould have conceived they had been active in ſome of thoſe ſcenes which, in the early ſtages of the revolution, outraged humanity, and diſgraced that city. But that character of features which alarmed me, might eaſily be attributed to local circumſtances. Dunkirk is the reſort of deſperadoes and outlaws from various nations, who in peace ſubſiſt by carrying on a contraband trade with England, in war by capturing veſſels; and the occupations of ſmuggling and privateering being invariably attended with a very conſiderable degree of danger, and often with little concern for the claims of humanity, the perſons ſo engaged acquire a caſt of countenance, which I cannot otherwiſe diſtinguiſh than by ſaying, it partakes of the aſſaſſin and the robber.

Neither the countenance, however, of my prize-maſter, nor his ſailors, gave me half the alarm that I felt at the diſcovery of their utter ignorance of navigation, and the art of managing a ſhip. The evening was ſtormy, and at midnight it blew a ſevere

gale of wind, with a rough dangerous ſea. The terms which I ſhould uſe, were I deſcribing our ſituation to a naval perſon, would be unintelligible to you; nor indeed can I boaſt of much facility in diſplaying my nautical knowledge. I ſhall therefore ſhorten my detail by ſimply obſerving, that for thirty hours the veſſel was in the laſt degree of danger, merely through the unſkilfulneſs and ignorance of the Frenchman. We were within two leagues of the coaſt of Holland, and in ſix fathoms of water, before they thought of heaving the lead, nor would it then have occurred to them as a thing that was neceſſary, had I not ſucceeded in perſuading them they were not far from land. Such an inſtance of ſtupidity rarely occurs, on a ſhore ſo proverbially dangerous as the coaſt of Holland; where innumerable ſhoals, lurking under water, long before the land is viſible, threaten with deſtruction the incautious mariner.

Cleanlineſs, I believe, is not a virtue for which the ſailors of any nation are to be commended, there is generally ſomething about

about them to offend more than one ſenſe; and no claſs of men are leſs attentive to perſonal delicacy. Our Frenchmen were the moſt diſguſting as well as the moſt ignorant of their profeſſion. . . . . .

The Dutch pilot who came on board, at the mouth of the Maeſe, gave me at firſt no very favourable idea of the reception we ſhould meet with in his country. A fiſhing veſſel belonging to him had been deſtroyed the preceding year by the fleet under admiral Mitchel; and his ſon was a priſoner in England. He was offended at an orange-coloured ſhawl, which —— unfortunately wore, and he repreſented himſelf and his countrymen as the bittereſt enemies of the Engliſh name. This converſation paſſed, it is proper to inform you, in the preſence of the prize-maſter. The pilot had indeed ſuffered by the Engliſh, and his ſon was a priſoner; but his animoſity againſt our nation was of the mildeſt kind, it was the cordiality of friendſhip, compared with the averſion which he expreſſed to the French. Speaking of the ignorance of the prize-

prize-maſter and his crew, he aſſured me that our danger had been infinitely greater than I ſuſpected; many veſſels had lately been loſt near where the Frenchmen ventured without any of the uſual precautions of navigation. He ſpoke good Engliſh, and was of great ſervice to us by pointing out the meaſures neceſſary to be taken to preſerve our property from the rapacity of the republican ſailors.

We came to anchor off Briel (or the Briel, as it is called, though for what reaſon I know not) in the afternoon, and were immediately viſited by boats from the ſhore and guard-ſhips. I was informed we ſhould not be permitted to land, till an order for that purpoſe had been received from the government; but I immediately waited on the Dutch commodore, and on repreſenting to him how ill we were accommodated, he promiſed to take us on board his own ſhip the next day. I obtained alſo from him a guard for the ſecurity of our perſons and property, and he politely ſent us ſuch refreſh-

ments

ments as he judged would be moſt agreeable to us, after the fatigues of our paſſage, and the indiſpoſition which perſons generally feel from the ſea, who are unaccuſtomed to the motion of the waves.

My Frenchmen were extremely indignant that we ſhould be thus under the protection of the Batavian government, for they conſidered us in ſome ſort as excluſively their property, and had, after the faſhion of their rulers, determined to levy on us a contribution either in ſpecie or apparel. But the preſence of two robuſt Hollanders defeated their intentions, and their reſentment was confined to idle menaces and impotent threats. It is the cuſtom of private veſſels of war, of other nations as well as the French, to pillage the paſſengers who are ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands; but complaints of this kind would be leſs frequently made, were the perſons ſo taken to apply immediately for protection to the conſtituted authorities of the place whither they are carried: men who have obtained a certain rank and character in life, are rarely diſpoſed to permit

mit open violations of juſtice, however they may be inclined to connive at private injuries to the rights of individuals.

We are now with commodore ——, priſoners of war, till paſſports arrive from the Hague, either remanding us to our own country, or granting us permiſſion to ſee whatever is moſt remarkable in the Batavian republic. Since the fortune of war has conducted me hither, and it is little probable that buſineſs, neceſſity, or pleaſure, ſhould ever lead me again to this part of the continent of Europe, I am reſolved, if I can obtain permiſſion, to profit by the occaſion, and make the tour of the United Provinces. I ſay the United Provinces, becauſe the Batavian republic has not yet obtained a place in our maps and gazetters; and to the one I aſſociate ſomething that is great and heroic, whereas the other conveys to my mind no favourable ideas. I ſhall therefore probably when I meet with objects which pleaſe me, ſpeak of them as belonging to the United Provinces, or the contrary as belonging to the Batavian republic. I have no diſinclination

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to admit that the latter appellation is the moſt claſſical; but I am ſorry that name ſhould be aboliſhed, which was beſtowed on this country by thoſe heroes who moſt vigorouſly defended their liberties againſt the gigantic forces of the Spaniſh monarchy, and eſtabliſhed a wiſe and ſalutary ſyſtem of freedom, which became the admiration of ſurrounding nations.

By the indulgence of commodore —— we have been on ſhore about two hours at the Briel. It is a fortified place, but of inconſiderable ſtrength*. Since the Engliſh expedition laſt year, they have repaired the ramparts, and conſtructed new batteries. I ought to mention that a chain of fortifications extends from the mouth of the Maeſe to this town, which would render it extremely difficult and dangerous for an enemy to effect a landing, and ſignal poſts, beacons, and telegraphs, are thickly ſcattered over the

* The Briel was the firſt town which revolted from the authority of Philip the Second, and its inhabitants are, with juſtice, proud that their anceſtors led the way to the independence of the United Provinces.

country,

country, ſo that an alarm would inſtantly be given and widely circulated, on the appearance of an hoſtile fleet.

Near the great church ſtands the tree of liberty, ſurmounted with a huge tin hat, which is decorated with the tricoloured ribbon. Various emblematic figures, painted more wretchedly than the hopes and angels on the ſign-boards of our hedge ale-houſes, are attached to the branches; and long ſcrolls of Dutch verſes, to the merits of which I am not competent to ſpeak. But, alas! the tree is withered and dead. I ſhould imitate the folly of the perſons who planted and ridiculouſly nicknamed the tree, were I to ſay more than I believe that few trees, of a certain age and growth, ſurvive tranſplantation, and that the death of this tree was nothing more than the natural conſequence of its removal. I congratulate myſelf that I do not belong to a nation which can be amuſed with ſuch inſipidities.

The face of the country, the appearance of the people, and what I have ſeen of their houſes, are quite as different as I expected

to

to find them, from what I have ſeen in England or abroad. The country exhibits a wonderful diſplay of the mighty effects which human induſtry is capable of achieving. It is an extenſive territory, rich in agriculture, and crowded with cities, reſcued by the vaſt efforts of man from the dominion of the ſea*. From the deck of the veſſel, on board of which I write this letter, the proſpect of cultivated and paſture

* Goldſmith's deſcription of Holland, in his Traveller, is equally to be admired for the beauty of the poetry, and the fidelity of the picture.—

To men of other minds my fancy flies,
Emboſomed in the deep where Holland lies.
Methinks her patient ſons before me ſtand,
Where the broad ocean leans againſt the land,
And, ſedulous to ſtop the coming tide,
Lift the tall rampires' artificial pride.
Onward, methinks, and diligently ſlow,
The firm, connected bulwark ſeems to grow;
Spreads its long arms amidſt the wat'ry roar,
Scoops out an empire, and uſurps the ſhore:
While the pent ocean, riſing o'er the pile,
Sees an amphibious world beneath him ſmile;—
The ſlow canal, the yellow-bloſſom'd vale,
The willow-tufted bank, the gliding ſail,
The crowded mart, the cultivated plain—
A new creation reſcued from his reign.

I cannot conceive what the poet means by "the yellow-bloſſom'd vale," but the reſt of the deſcription is uncommonly happy and animated.

lands,

lands, of towns and villages, extends, far as the eye can reach, uninterrupted by the leaſt inequalities of ground; and the ſhip floats on a vaſt maſs of water, ſome feet above the meadows, were numerous flocks are grazing. I ought to inform you, that I ſpeak of what is the appearance of the country when the tide is at its height; but at low water I am told the ſea is near above a foot higher than the level of the earth, ſo that dykes of an aſtoniſhing magnitude and ſolidity are neceſſary to preſerve them from the moſt dreadful inundations.

LETTER

LETTER II.

Civility of the Dutch Commodore: singular learning of his chief Officer.—A Batavian patriot: his suspicions and rudeness.—Dutch tardiness.—The unpleasantness of detention.—The great influence of the French in Holland.

October, 1800.

I SHOULD speak of our accommodations on board the commodore, which indeed are elegant and convenient, had not his politeness and incessant attention to our wants paramount claims on my notice. He omits nothing to render our stay with him agreeable, and has entirely succeeded in making us forget whatever is unpleasant, in idea or reality, in being brought hither against our inclination, and detained as prisoners. The captain of another ship of war, a veteran of approved courage, whose countenance is full of expressions of honesty and philanthropy, is equally assiduous to contribute to our plea-

ſures; and as they both ſpeak either Engliſh or French with conſiderable fluency, we find no difficulty in communicating our ideas. They are both men of good information, and well read in Engliſh and French literature. But I ſhall paſs over their mental acquirements, which are truly reſpectable, to introduce you to one of the moſt extraordinary perſons I ever met with, the firſt officer of the commodore's ſhip. A learned ſailor ſeems to border upon the marvellous, but nearly the whole of this man's life was ſpent at ſea, and the extent of his reading is ſuch as is rarely obtained by thoſe who paſs their lives in the tranquil cultivation of letters. I have not often ſeen a man better acquainted with ancient authors than he is; but for his intimate knowledge of the whole circle of modern literature he ſtands unrivalled. I was not able to name an Engliſh author of reputation with whoſe works he was not critically acquainted. He had read the moſt difficult of our poets with an attention which could not have been beſtowed on them, had he not been ſenſible of their beauties; and his intimacy

intimacy with the novels of Smollet and Fielding, ſhewed the great progreſs he had made towards conquering the difficulties of our language. His acquaintance with French literature had not debauched his taſte; his veneration for Shakſpeare was unweakened by the flimſy cavils of Voltaire, and he readily aſſigned the palm of heroic excellence to the illuſtrious Milton. My knowledge of German letters is confined to the authors whom I have read through the medium of tranſlation, and with theſe, and others whoſe names have not reached me, he is familiar: but this ought not to excite much ſurpriſe, as the Dutch language has a great affinity to the German, and the literary poverty of his own country probably firſt led him to cultivate the learning of a people whoſe manners and genius approximate to thoſe of his own nation. I feel ſome diffidence in praiſing his acquirements in French and Italian literature, becauſe the narrow compaſs of my own knowledge leads me to diſtruſt my judgment; but he diſcourſed without caution or vanity on all the authors in either language

which I had read, and diſplayed an extent of reading, which, but for the ſimplicity and openneſs of his character, I ſhould have been induced to ſuſpect.

Yet with this variety of reading, and moſt ſingular powers of memory, his converſation is dull, I had almoſt ſaid unprofitable. He has retained every thing which he has read, but digeſted not one particle: he has collected moſt amply, but made no arrangement of his ſtores. His mind ſeems like a vaſt repoſitory of furniture, where the elegancies of the drawing-room and the neceſſaries of the kitchen are promiſcuouſly crowded together; every thing is there which can miniſter to your wants, or contribute to your pleaſures, but all is in diſorder and confuſion. The principal fault of this perſon is, that he is utterly unacquainted with his own powers; and to this I attribute his almoſt total want of imagination and arrangement. I, as it were, obliged him to converſe with me, and he is fond of ſpeaking Engliſh, or the laudable pride of ſuperior attainments would not lead him to diſplay his acquiſitions.

Yeſterday

Yesterday a party from the shore dined with the commodore in compliment to us, and in the evening we had a little concert. Our harmony, however, had near been interrupted by a Dutch colonel, a furious patriot, who was enraged to the last degree of indignation, that the commodore should heap civilities on the bitter foes of the Batavian republic. Every Englishman was a dangerous person; and those very circumstances which precluded suspicion, ought to awaken the most vigilant caution. If we were not actually spies, situation and opportunity might make us; and he did me the honour to insinuate, that the more than common share of curiosity and observation which I appeared to possess, alarmed him greatly. The illiberality of this person was not confined to the insinuations which I have already mentioned, or virulent abuse of the English nation through the medium of French and Dutch ballads, but he attempted to wound us where the means of defence were less in our power—by drawing a conclusion destructive of female character, from the circumstance that I wore

mourning, when —— was dreſſed in colours, ——I am heartly vexed to ſay, becauſe it implies a cenſure on perſons whom I really value and reſpect, that the ridiculous fears and violent prejudices of this Batavian have done us ſome diſſervice. I have learnt that he is a perſon of authority in the Briel—one of the municipality; and that kind of difficulty has occurred to prevent us from taking the walk on ſhore this morning which we propoſed, that I ſhall not aſk the ſame favour again.

The poſt is arrived which we thought would bring us paſſports from the Hague; but, a peſt on Dutch tardineſs, which under every form of government I believe will remain the ſame, we are diſappointed. This mortification is the more diſtreſſing, as it is altogether dubious whether it will be determined that we muſt return by the firſt conveyance to England, or permiſſion will be granted us to view the republic. The former would be extremely unpleaſant to me, as there are many places in the United Provinces which I have an eager curioſity to ſee; but principally becauſe I am anxious to obtain,

complete

complete information reſpecting the preſent ſtate of the country, and the influence which the conqueſt of the French has had on the character of the people. I have heard complaints that the former government was arbitrary, and perhaps they were well founded; but the preſent I ſuſpect is both oppreſſive and arbitrary, and without energy or dignity. I am deſirous to ſee what are the effects of French principles on a nation ſo ſober and phlegmatic as the Dutch have always been repreſented; whether thoſe theories of liberty which pleaſed me when a youth, and which I ſtill moſt fervently admire, are, when reduced to practice, as delightful and invaluable as an ardent and unſuſpicious mind conceived them to be.

There is ſomething in confinement, call it detention, or by a milder term, which I revolt at; and I think that confinement on ſhip-board is worſe than in a priſon or a lazaretto, though I do not ſpeak from perſonal experience. I never knew a perſon of ſentiment and delicacy who could endure a ſhip, unleſs indeed they have been early

habituated to a ſeafaring life, and in a like manner reconciled to its diſguſting circumſtances, as cuſtom leads us to admire thoſe taſtes which the unſophiſticated palate cannot tolerate.

Our friendly commodore has been at Helvoetſluys, to confer with the admiral, his commanding officer, reſpecting us, and we are offered a cartel to return immediately to England; but we cannot go on ſhore until permiſſion is obtained from the higher authorities. It is told me, that application to the French miniſter at the Hague, as we were captured by a privateer of his nation, would be the readieſt method to procure paſſports, but I ſhould ſubmit with pleaſure to the mortification of a longer detention than it is probable we ſhall have, rather than wound, in the ſlighteſt degree, the feelings of thoſe under whoſe generous protection we are. The exerciſe of few of the prerogatives which belong to an independent nation is permitted to the Dutch; and I believe we ſhould immediately be releaſed, were it not apprehended that ſuch a meaſure might be offenſive to the perſons

ſons employed by the French government in Holland. I mean no cenſure here on the character of M. Simonville the French ambaſſador, who is repreſented to me as a perſon of the greateſt liberality and candour, and an utter ſtranger to arrogance or prejudice; but, the perſons to whom I allude are the inferior ſervants of the French republic—men tainted with too many of the vices of the revolution.

LETTER

LETTER III.

End of the Author's detention through the means of General Chorié.—Impoveriſhed ſtate of Maaſlandſluys.—Road to Delft.—The artillery of General Chorié's brigade.—Character of the General.—The environs of Rotterdam.—State-houſe of that city.—George the Second.

Rotterdam, Oct. 1800.

WHEN I concluded my laſt letter, I did not imagine we ſhould be ſo ſpeedily releaſed from our honourable confinement, and that impreſſion, perhaps, threw a tincture of peeviſhneſs into what I wrote; I feel the conſciouſneſs, however, of this ſo ſlightly, that I deem no other apology neceſſary, than to ſay, that the man whoſe compoſitions, delineating ſituation and character, are not affected by preſent circumſtances and perſonal ſenſibility, is a writer whoſe acquaintance I am little diſpoſed to cultivate.

Our

Our detention would probably have been protracted a week or longer, had not General Chorié, who commands the French troops in Rotterdam and the isles of Goree and Vorn, learnt our situation at the Briel, and interested himself to be useful to us. We travelled in his voiture from the Briel to Rotterdam, and he has charged himself to obtain for us whatever passports are necessary.

At Maaslandsluys, formerly a fishing town of great opulence, I observed the most distressing symptoms of impoverishment and decay. The harbour was crowded with fishing vessels, no longer employed, and many of them unserviceable through neglect, or the absolute inability of their owners to keep them in repair, which in peace collected the wealth of the ocean, and made half the nations of Europe tributary to the industry of Holland. The quay was covered with long grass, and a melancholy assemblage of beggars importuned us for relief, wherever we walked. Many of the best houses of the town were uninhabited, and it was with difficulty that we procured post-horses to carry us to Delft: we were delayed near

near two hours, and ſhould probably have had a longer detention, but a French general is a perſon of too great conſequence in Holland to tolerate the accidents which happen with impunity to ordinary travellers, and his remonſtrances had due influence with the innkeeper.

The road from Maaſlandſluys to Delft is by the ſide of a canal, through a country well cultivated and fertile. The extinction of their commerce has perhaps turned the attention of the Dutch to agricultural purſuits: and war, by increaſing the price of every article of human ſuſtenance, encourages and rewards their diligence: but they have fallen into an error, which is at this moment too prevalent in England---of employing their land rather in feeding cattle than raiſing corn. Their farms, too, are larger than I could have wiſhed to have ſeen them; and none of thoſe ſmiling cottages appear, which beautify the Engliſh landſcape. Their farm-houſes are neat and ſubſtantial dwellings, and the perſons who inhabit them, an honeſt and reſpectable looking race of beings, not at all deſerving the appellation

of

of boors, in the ſenſe to which we apply it. But I much doubt whether, in the whole circle of the United Provinces, any thing is to be found, either belonging to the peaſants or their habitations, which approximates in the leaſt to rural elegance, or that bewitching ſimplicity of taſte which mocks the progreſs of falſe refinement.

We paſſed through Delft at a time which afforded us an opportunity of ſeeing the flying artillery attached to General Chorié's brigade. The appearance of the men and horſes was wretched in the extreme, but Chorié aſſured me their diſcipline was excellent; and they had, the preceding year, when the Engliſh invaded Holland, rendered very important ſervices to the republic. They had alſo gathered laurels in Germany. But their ſqualid countenances and tattered clothing furniſhed me rather with the idea of ſcarecrows than ſoldiers. Their artillery, however, was formidable: twelve long braſs field-pieces, carrying ſhot of ſix pounds weight, or a proportionate quantity of muſket-balls, were capable, in the hands of ſo expert artillerymen

tillerymen as the French are univerſally allowed to be, of doing prodigious execution in the cloſe ranks of an enemy. The ſucceſſes of the French in Germany and Italy are pretty confidently attributed to the vaſt ſuperiority of their artillery; but, though they have brought that branch of military ſcience to a high degree of perfection, I am perſuaded they are leſs indebted to it for their victories, than to the ſuperior numbers which they have always brought into the field, and the extraordinary genius of their military leaders.

Chorié is a lively Frenchman from Languedoc, though I ſhould rather have ſuppoſed from Gaſcony, who has ſeen much ſervice in various quarters of the globe, and is firmly attached to the revolution. I know not how to reconcile the aſſiduous attention which he pays us, and the many civilities we receive at his hands, with the rooted animoſity which he bears to the Engliſh nation. We are a people againſt whom he could wage eternal war. Yet there are many individuals of our nation, for whom he either entertains a perſonal

perſonal eſteem, or values for the reputation which they enjoy by the united ſuffrages of Europe. He would have apologiſed to me for a ſentiment which I was ſhocked at, by transferring his odium from the nation to the government; (the practice of the Jacobins and revolutionary committees); but I admire the conſtitution of my country, and the legal, wiſe, and ſalutary government which emanates from it, too cordially to be flattered by the ſophiſtry which perſuades me to ſeparate myſelf from the conſtitutionally-eſtabliſhed government of my country; and however I may diſlike corrupt and feeble adminiſtrations, my attachment to the conſtitution of my country remains unimpaired.

From Delft to Rotterdam the road is agreeably diverſified with neat villages, and a variety of country ſeats and houſes of retirement in the trueſt Dutch taſte. It is, like the road from Maaſlandſluys to Delft, on the dyke of the canal, ſo that the careleſſneſs of the driver might throw his carriage into the water, or precipitate it into the fields, which in ſome places

places are between five and ſix feet below the level of the road. This I believe never happens, but the apparent danger is ſufficient to excite the anxiety of timorous travellers; and the badneſs of the road, which is made without gravel and abounds in deep ruts, keeps alive their fears.

At a diſtance, Rotterdam appears a well-built and extenſive city, and the approach to it diſplays the opulence and induſtry of its inhabitants. The number of mills, principally for ſawing timber, in the ſuburbs, is prodigious; but few of them were at work, though the weather was extremely favourable, and ſome were in a ſtate ſo ruinous, that they muſt have long been unemployed. The ſawing-mills are inventions of the greateſt utility, both for abridging the labour of man, and performing work with the neateſt accuracy. They are lofty and ſomewhat agreeable erections, the mill generally riſing from the top of a ſubſtantial building two or three ſtories high, and of a ſufficient altitude to give its neceſſary rotundity a light and airy appearance. Some of them are painted

painted in a whimsical taste, and others adorned with grotesque figures, according to the fancy or wealth of their respective proprietors.

We are lodged at present at General Chorié's head-quarters, formerly the State-house, at present the Central-bureau, where the French commander resides, and the municipality of Rotterdam hold their sittings. It is a spacious, solid, but ill-constructed building. As an Englishman, it possesses a secret recommendation to me, which I should be sorry not to mention. It was the occasional residence of George the Second, when he visited his Hanoverian dominions, and has been dignified by the presence of other of our princes of the blood. Time, the impartial analyser of reputations, has set his seal on the character of George the Second. We may praise him, without the suspicion of venality; or censure, uninfluenced by the prejudices of party. He was a sovereign endowed with many princely virtues:—he was brave in the field, prudent in the cabinet, frugal of the public revenue, and jealous of the national honour. Dur-

ing his long reign, juſtice was adminiſtered with impartial equity in his courts; nor did the prerogatives of the ſovereign ever interfere with the rights of the ſubject. His attachment to his German poſſeſſion has been cenſured by thoſe who repined at the proſperity which the nation enjoyed under his government; but this attachment was the natural reſult of early aſſociation and partiality: and I admire, rather than reproach, the monarch for blending with the exerciſe of his high authority the feelings and ſympathies of a man. The chamber we ſlept in, was formerly called Koning Kamer, or the King's chamber; but this appellation being incompatible with republican ſimplicity, it is no longer diſtinguiſhed from the other apartments of the houſe.

Since our arrival here, we have undergone a ſlight examination, *pro forma*, before the French conſul of the place, General Chorié, and the Batavian commiſſary; and paſſports have been granted us, with equal readineſs and politeneſs, for three decades, which will afford us a ſufficient time to ſee whatever is moſt

moſt remarkable in the United Provinces. We quit General Chorié's quarters to-morrow, to lodge at the Swine's Hoof, a reſpectable inn in the great market-place, where the conſul has obligingly hired apartments for us. It is neceſſary, I am informed, in this country, if you intend to reſide for any length of time in a place, to make a previous agreement with the innkeeper for the price which you muſt pay for your apartments; for otherwiſe he will be inclined to charge you at an exorbitant rate, and as no redreſs can be obtained, their demands muſt be paid without abatement.

LETTER IV.

Rotterdam—Its convenient ſituation for trade—The impoveriſhed ſtate of its commerce.—A ſingular preference given to cloth of Engliſh manufacture.—Amicable ſyſtem of privateering.—Corſairs belonging to Britiſh ſubjects which ſailed under the French flag.—Abuſes corrected by Bonaparte.—The ſtreets of Rotterdam.—Architectural taſte of the Dutch.—Statue of Eraſmus.—Conſternation with which the progreſs of the French armies was viewed at Rotterdam.—Flight of the Engliſh ſervants.—Arrival of the French.—The municipality.—Anecdotes of marigolds and oranges.—The concert.—The theatre.—Religion.—Public charities.

October, 1800.

ROTTERDAM is the ſecond commercial city in the republic, and has ſuffered leaſt in the general calamities of the country. It is well ſituated for commercial purpoſes, being placed on the bank of the Maeſe, a river

river competent to all the uſes of navigation, and of a magnificent breadth. The principal ſtreets are interſected with canals, of a ſufficient depth to receive veſſels of from two to three hundred tons burthen, which greatly facilitates the trade of the place, as ſhips are enabled immediately to deliver their cargoes into the warehouſes appointed to receive them, and at an inconſiderable expence of time and labour, compared with the obſtructions of trade in the port of London and elſewhere. The merchant alſo enjoys the advantage of having the ſhips, which either belong to or are conſigned to him, delivered under his direct eye; ſo that he can at the ſame time attend to the concerns of his office, and vigilantly obſerve that he does not ſuffer through the indolence or embezzlement of his ſervants.

According to the report of a very intelligent and judicious merchant, whoſe acquaintance I have had the good fortune to obtain, Rotterdam does not at preſent enjoy a tenth part of the commerce which ſhe poſſeſſed before the French invaſion, and the inter-

ruption of her intercourſe with Great Britain. Before the war, it ſometimes happened, that three hundred Engliſh veſſels were ſeen at one time within the port of Rotterdam; and this number was certainly exceeded by the ſhips belonging to the place and thoſe of other nations. At preſent the number of neutral veſſels in the harbour do not exceed fifty, and trade is at this time more than uſually active, if the retroſpect be taken from their late circumſtances. If I were to judge from the buſtle and confuſion occaſioned in ſtreets by the tranſport of merchandiſe from one part of the town to another, I ſhould ſay the place enjoyed a thriving commerce; for in the morning it is ſcarcely poſſible to walk in the ſtreets, where no paths are excluſively appropriated to foot-paſſengers, as in England, without having your ſafety endangered, or your clothes dirtied, by the numerous ſledges laden with hogſheads and bales which are continually paſſing. I have been prevented for ten minutes from paſſing over a draw-bridge by a train of theſe vehicles, all of them perhaps carrying as great a quantity

a quantity of valuable commodities as one, two, or three horſes could draw.

But the canals of Rotterdam are covered with diſmantled veſſels, and whole ſtreets of warehouſes are unoccupied. This decay of the trade of Rotterdam is not to be attributed ſolely to the war with Great Britain, but to a variety of cauſes. The moſt ſtriking, perhaps, are the emigration of their opulent capitaliſts, and the oppreſſion and ridiculous ordinances of the Batavian government. By the emigration of the rich and reſpectable merchants of the Britiſh nation, the trade which Rotterdam at preſent carries on with England has fallen into the hands of men with whom the independent and honeſt trader of moſt nations would be averſe to deal; and the government, according to the temper and prejudices of the times, has impoſed thoſe vexatious reſtrictions on the export and import trade, which are always peculiarly injurious to commerce. It is a curious fact, deſerving to be known, that at the time when the government rigorouſly prohibited the importation of Engliſh ma-

nufactures into the ports of the republic, a contract was agreed upon between ſome members of the executive body and a mercantile houſe in Rotterdam to furniſh the requiſition of clothing for the French army by an importation of cloth from England; and accordingly eight thouſand French ſoldiers were clothed from the looms of Yorkſhire; when, if a ſingle yard had been diſcovered on board a private trader's veſſel, he would have been liable to the ſevereſt penalties and confiſcations.

Shortly after the commencement of hoſtilities with England, a ſingular ſyſtem of depredation was ſucceſsfully practiſed againſt the underwriters of London and Amſterdam, by merchants of wealth and *reputation* in this place. They were the real, though of courſe not the nominal, owners of privateers which ſailed under the flag of the French republic, and having inſured veſſels in Amſterdam and London, the ſhips ſo ſecured and the privateers ſailed from the Maeſe together, and an amicable capture enſued. The condemnation of property ſo taken

taken was readily obtained, and the underwriters were obliged to make good the ideal loſs. A more innocent ſpecies of warfare, I believe, was never practiſed! Some diſcoveries of their frauds gave the firſt check to this curious ſyſtem of peculation; and its ruin has ſince been achieved by the excellent regulations which the chief conſul has introduced into the maritime code of France.

About the time to which I have alluded, privateers under the French flag, but actually the property of Britiſh ſubjects reſident in Holland, and ſome of them in England, ſailed from the ports of the Batavian republic, and made captures of Britiſh veſſels to a conſiderable amount. This was attacking the lives and liberties, as well as the property, of their countrymen; and I ſhould heſitate to record ſo diſgraceful a fact, could I doubt the authority from whence I derive it. To the laſting infamy of theſe men, it muſt be conſidered, that they had none of thoſe excuſes for parricidally preying on their country, with which the French and Dutch refugees are furniſhed, by the unhappy

happy ſpirit of the times, and the violence of revolutionary governments. They could not allege in palliation that their country had proſcribed their perſons, and confiſcated their property. Some of them enjoyed the protection of the Britiſh government; and thoſe whom the victorious arms of the enemy ſeparated from their country, might reaſonably expect, and *poſſibly* deſire, to paſs the evening of their lives in the boſom of their native land. It is worthy of obſervation, that the privateers belonging to theſe perſons committed more depredations than any other, on the veſſels and property of neutral nations, and the crews with which they were manned treated with leſs humanity the perſons who unfortunately fell into their hands. Theſe abuſes, however, have been carefully attended to by the conſular government, and I am not competent to ſtate that they have any longer an exiſtence.

It is the policy of Bonaparte to conciliate the eſteem of the neutral powers; and ſince this great man has held the reins of government,

vernment, the complaints of neutral owners, of the detention of their veſſels by French privateers, have been ſpeedily and exemplarily redreſſed. No privateer can now ſail under the French flag, the owners of which are not actually reſident in France or her dependencies, and have given ſufficient bail to indemnify the damage that may be done to neutral property. It is not now, as was formerly the caſe, permitted to every inſignificant commercial conſul of the republic to condemn the veſſels which are brought under his juriſdiction; from whence, as theſe agents were generally venal and rapacious, a thouſand abuſes originated: but the papers and documents neceſſary to prove the capture to be a legal prize, muſt be tranſmitted to the office of the miniſter of the marine, from whoſe deciſion there is an appeal to a court of admiralty. This laſt tribunal is in high repute with neutral merchants; and I have heard many invidious compariſons between its deciſions and thoſe of Doctors Commons, but with what juſtice I will not pretend to determine. By wiſe and ſalutary meaſures like

like theſe, Bonaparte will conſolidate his authority, and acquire more real glory than is to be purchaſed with an hundred victories.

Rotterdam is not a place to be diſtinguiſhed for the elegance of its buildings, or the taſte of its inhabitants. The bomb quay, which is ſituated along the Maeſe, is the principal ſtreet, and extends almoſt a mile in length. The houſes in general are five or ſix ſtories high, ſtrong and capacious, but inelegant, buildings. On account of the inundations to which the place is ſubject, none of the houſes have what can be called a ground-floor; and the baſement is generally disfigured by ponderous gates, like thoſe of barrier towns, which open to the warehouſes that are attached to the back part of each houſe. It is curious to ſee the ornaments of the Corinthian order ſtuck againſt the upper ſtory, without the column to ſupport them. Such attempts at architectural decoration are inconceivably ridiculous: and in the interior arrangement of the houſes, miſtakes are made, which a very

very moderate portion of taſte would have avoided. It frequently happens, that apartments which would grace the manſion of a prince, have no other views from their windows than the dead walls of a warehouſe, uſed for the vileſt purpoſes of trade, as a magazine for ſtock-fiſh, ſkins, tobacco, and the like. I met with a ſtriking inſtance of this at the houſe of Mr. ———, a gentleman whoſe collection of paintings does equal honour to his liberality and taſte. An apartment of almoſt regal magnificence looks immediately into his warehouſe, and the eye turns with horror from the works of Titian and Rubens, to cranes, bales, caſks, &c. the appendages of commerce. In the collection of this gentleman, a Holy Family by Rubens, a Venus couchant by Titian, and a St. John by Rembrant, are pieces of exquiſite merit. That they ſhould be placed in a room ſo unfortunately ſituated is the more to be cenſured, as the front of his houſe commands a noble view of the Maeſe, and an uninterrupted proſpect of the country on the oppoſite ſide of the river.

The

The principal ſtreets of Rotterdam are thickly planted with trees, which, together with the canals which flow in the middle of them, and the draw-bridges in excellent repair and neatly painted that every-where meet the eye, give them an agreeable appearance. The windows and doors of the houſes are in general painted green, which has a lively effect, and this is much increaſed by the ſcrupulous cleanlineſs which is univerſally practiſed. Not only the windows, but the whole front of the houſe, is generally waſhed two or three times a week by engines for that purpoſe, which are abundantly ſupplied with water from the canals, and the ſame care is extended to the pavement of the ſtreets in which the more opulent inhabitants reſide.

Rotterdam has nothing to boaſt of the ſplendour of its public buildings. The cathedral of St. Laurence is a dull, heavy pile, in which it would be eaſier to diſcover much to find fault with, than any thing to commend. An organ is erecting in this church of aſtoniſhing magnitude, which it is ſuppoſed

poſed will ſurpaſs the famous inſtrument of Haarlem; but, as the times are unfavourable for ſuch undertakings, many years will probably elapſe before it is completed. The Exchange is a neat building, and perfectly adapted to the purpoſes for which it was erected.

An aſſemblage of ill-featured people, tainted with the love of gain, meet here ſix times a week between the hours of one and three, and on Sundays it is the rendezvous of the militia of the town.

In the market-place is the ſtatue of Eraſmus *, a name ſtill cheriſhed in the place of

* It is the third ſtatue which the gratitude of his townſmen has erected in honour of their illuſtrious fellow-citizen. The firſt in wood was raiſed to his memory in 1549, thirteen years after his deceaſe, and a few years afterwards this was removed for a more elegant and ſubſtantial figure in ſtone. Inſtigated by a bigotted monk, to whom the rational piety, the profound genius, and extenſive learning, of Eraſmus, were offenſive, the Spaniards in 1572, being maſters of Rotterdam, deſtroyed this ſtatue. The preſent one in bronze was erected in 1662, and is of good execution. The figure, which ſtands on a pedeſtal ornamented with inſcriptions and ſurrounded with iron rails, is larger than life, and repreſents Eraſmus clad in his eccleſiaſtical habit, with an open

of his birth; and not far from the venerable figure of this great man, the hat of liberty is erected on a pole of enormous height. The death of three or more trees, ſucceſſively conſecrated to liberty, made it neceſſary to ſubſtitute a pole to diſplay the emblem of Batavian freedom; but its ſlightneſs promiſes a duration ſcarcely longer than that of its predeceſſors, and it is probable that the municipality, when the love of the fantaſies of freedom ſhall have departed from them, will not trouble themſelves to erect another. In the fiſh-market and elſewhere are ſimilar erections, but theſe are ſcarcely ſuperior to barbers' poles, or the flag-ſtaffs which we ſee in the tea-gardens near London.

A weak and recently eſtabliſhed government is generally more arbitrary in the exerciſe of its power, than thoſe authorities which have derived ſtability from the length of their duration; and to this cauſe I attribute the

open book in his hand. On republican feſtivals the ſage is decorated with tricoloured ribbons; and before the revolution on particular occaſions he was made to pay a ſimilar compliment to the houſe of Orange.

reluctance

reluctance which I find in perſons to deliver their genuine ſentiments reſpecting the preſent condition of the republic. Complaints of paſt abuſes are frequent and copious; but no approbation accompanies the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration of the country; their edicts, or rather the edicts of the French miniſter, are obeyed in ſilence: the clamours of the factious are not heard;—but where are the acclamations of a grateful people?

In no town within the territory of the United Provinces was the progreſs of the French arms, in ninety-four and ninety-five, viewed with more alarm than in Rotterdam. It was a ſeaſon of general mourning and diſmay. The moſt reſpectable inhabitants of the town were connected with England either by deſcent or intermarriage, and all claſſes of ſociety experienced the benefits of an extenſive commerce with the Britiſh empire. To this partiality for the enemies of the French republic, they joined a ſtrong attachment to the ſtadtholderian government, as it was eſtabliſhed by the influence of England and Pruſſia in 1787, and a loyal reſpect

for the perſon of the prince of Orange. With theſe partialities and attachments, the advance of the French into the republic, and the abſolute impoſſibility of reſiſtance, cauſed an univerſal ſenſation of terror and grief. The moſt reſpectable Engliſh families fled from the town, and their example in ſome caſes was followed by the Dutch. To the honour of a numerous and uſeful claſs of perſons, I have to relate, that when it became certain that all intercourſe with England would be ſuſpended, not a female ſervant of the Britiſh nation was to be found in Rotterdam, who would conſent to remain there after the French were in poſſeſſion of the place. Many of them had lived in the ſame ſituation ſo long, that the character of a ſervant was melted into that of an individual of the family; but no perſonal or local attachments could prevail over the ſtrong affection which they retained for their country; and the ampleſt increaſe of wages to induce them to remain in their places, in every inſtance, was offered without effect. Their conduct is the more to be admired, when the quantity of

reſolution

reſolution and energy is eſtimated, which enabled theſe poor women to gratify their patriotic feelings. The reflection probably did not occur to them, that they were ſeparating themſelves, perhaps for ever, from the moſt valuable friends they could hope to form during their lives; but the ſeaſon of their departure was rigorous beyond the inclemency of former years, and few were the accommodations which fell to the lot of the moſt opulent refugees. The navigation of the Maeſe, as well as the canals, being interruped by the froſt, the ordinary modes of conveyance were ſuſpended; and ſo great was the demand for carriages, that happy were thoſe, even the wealthy and delicate, who could obtain a place in an open waggon. The perſons who were not thus accommodated, purſued their melancholy route over frozen rivers and ſnows, from Rotterdam to Helvoetſluys, where they found ſhipping for England; and they have carried with them the regret and eſteem of the place.

On the 22d of January the diviſion of General Bonneau took poſſeſſion of Rotter-

dam. The French troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, marched to this conqueſt on the ſolid waters of the Maeſe, as if nature favoured their enterpriſe, and preſented a ſpectacle which has not often occurred in the hiſtory of war. The ſolidity which the river had acquired, ſufficiently marks the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. Yet the French ſoldiers were deſtitute of the moſt neceſſary articles of clothing. Whole battalions were in want of ſhoes and ſtockings, nor was the dreſs of the officers much ſuperior to that of the common men. A ſentinal on duty had frequently no other covering to protect him from the cold, inſtead of a coat, than a tattered blanket faſtened round him; and hats or caps were articles that were rarely ſeen.

Under theſe diſadvantageous circumſtances the French troops arrived at Rotterdam, and were immediately quartered on the inhabitants of the town. A moderate requiſition of clothing was impartially levied; and after their firſt alarms had ſubſided, the behaviour of the French ſoldiers conciliated the good opinion of all. Not one act of violence or plunder

plunder disgraced the discipline of the republican army; and complaints of the slightest nature were instantly attended to by the generals, and redressed. On the overthrow of the ancient authorities, a provisional magistracy was erected, which fortunately was composed of men of moderate principles, and truly patriotic sentiments. By their prudent measures, with the assistance and support of the French commander, the public tranquillity was preserved; and though for some weeks the trade of the place was entirely suspended, no acts of riot or disorder were committed by the numerous and dissatisfied poor who were thereby thrown out of employment. The functions of this provisional government expired with the establishment of the new constitution; and with concern I have to state, that their successors have not imitated the moderation and virtue of these upright and useful magistrates. The municipality is chiefly composed of factious and declamatory citizens, who, proud of their authority, indulge in the tyrannical exercise of it; and the discredit of associating with such

men, deters perſons of reſpectability and character from ſeeking to fill the civil employments of the town.

The miſchiefs that might have reſulted from power being lodged in the hands of ſuch men, have been greatly prevented by the circumſtance, that the majority—a large majority—of the inhabitants of Rotterdam retain a ſtrong partiality for the ancient ſyſtem of government, and the connection with England. When the marigold, becauſe its colour is the ſymbol of the houſe of Orange, was extirpated from the gardens of the patriots, the windows of that quarter of the town where the poor principally reſide were filled with pots of that flower; and a plant which a pious age had conſecrated to the Virgin, expreſſed the lively affection of its poſſeſſor for an exiled ſtadtholder of Holland. The red and white roſes of the factions of York and Lancaſter will perhaps account for the eſteem in which the marigold is held by the partiſans of the houſe of Orange, but why ſhould the elegant fruit that bears the name of that family be exiled from the tables

of

of the antiſtadtholderian party? The moderation and good ſenſe of the times have greatly relaxed the ſeverity of the patriots in this and other reſpects, and oranges may now be eaten without ſubjecting the perſons ſo offending to the ſuſpicion of inciviſm, though ſome are yet ſcrupulous of admitting that fruit to their tables.

The concert at Rotterdam is the moſt faſhionable amuſement of the place, and invariably well attended. The band is numerous, but, conſiſting rather of amateurs than perſons who live by the exerciſe of their muſical talents, its excellence is not great. It would be difficult, however, in a provincial town of England, Bath excepted, to find a band of ſuperior merit; and this I believe is to be attributed to the general eſtimation, over other entertainments, in which muſic is held on the continent. The Dutch language is ſo diſſonant and inharmonious, that their vocal performances are ſeldom pleaſing to the ear of a ſtranger: a female ſinger poſſeſſed a powerful and melodious voice, but the recurrence of harſh, grating words in her ſong

deſtroyed in a great meaſure the effect of her ſweet notes. Madame Banti had been at Rotterdam in the ſummer, and all were full of her praiſe. It proceeds from a want of liberality, not of taſte, that firſt-rate ſingers and performers are not to be met with here.

My attachment to dramatic repreſentations led me the firſt opportunity to the theatre; and I was ſo well ſatisfied with the entertainments of the place, that I have twice repeated my viſit. The play-houſe is a ſmall neat building, and decorated with conſiderable taſte. The boxes, of which there is only one tier, are furniſhed with elegant chairs and cuſhions; and what is an admirable convenience, backs are placed to the ſeats of the pit. It is ſeldom well attended, though the dramas I have ſeen were pieces of ſterling merit, and the performance of the actors conſiderably above mediocrity. One evening the "Miſanthropy and Repentance" of Kotzebue, which bears the name of "The Stranger" in England, was acted with great judgment and effect; and another time a play borrowed from "L'Enfant trouvé" of the French ſtage.

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The Roſcius of Rotterdam is an Engliſhman of the name of Bingley; but I could not diſcover in his performances any thing to juſtify the general partiality in his favour: he is, however, an actor of diſcrimination, and poſſeſſes ſome powers of conception: his delineation of grief is a chaſte and accurate performance. The amuſements of the theatre generally terminate with a ballet, which is performed by young perſons; and theſe ſpectacles, with the aſſiſtance of good ſcenery and cheerful muſic, are lively and agreeable repreſentations. Adjoining to the theatre is a room where refreſhments are to be ſold, and here the lovers of tobacco reſort to ſmoke their pipes between the acts of the performance. It is highly to the credit of the morals of the place, that the ear or eye of modeſty is not offended by the preſence of a ſingle proſtitute at the theatre: they are not excluded by any orders of the police or the interpoſition of the managers, but the public ſenſe of decency and chaſtity prohibits their appearance. The number of unfortunate women of this deſcription, who frequent the theatres

theatres of the Britiſh metropolis, is an intolerable abuſe. In Rotterdam, as in all the great cities of Europe, there are brothel's for the reception of licentious women; but theſe perſons ſeclude themſelves from the public eye, and it requires ſome acquaintance with vice to diſcover their retreats.

The ſtate of religion at Rotterdam is nearly the ſame as before the revolution. On Sundays the churches are well attended; and though the miniſters in general are ſuſpected of being attached to the ſtadtholder's party, I could not learn that they were treated even by the moſt violent republicans with diſreſpect, much leſs with perſonal indignity, or any ſeverity that bordered the leaſt on perſecution. The paſtor of one of the churches, a zealous ſtadtholderian, who, apprehenſive for his ſafety, fled from Holland on the approach of the French, returned to Rotterdam a few days ago (with the permiſſion of the government), on the invitation of his pariſhioners, and preached his reſtoration ſermon, which was ſaid to contain more politics than religion, and thoſe by no means

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in favour of the preſent order of things, to a very numerous congregation.

Holland is diſtinguiſhed for the munificence of its public charities; but, unhappily for humanity, they have partaken largely of the misfortunes of the republic. The Weeſe-houſe, or aſylum for orphans and the deſtitute children of indigent parents, ſcarcely maintains two thirds of the objects of charity which before the war it benevolently ſheltered; and other eleemoſynary inſtitutions have ſuffered in a ſimilar proportion.

LETTER

LETTER V.

A ſtorm.—The village of Overſchie—Its miſerable accommodations.—Delft.—The miſchiefs of the ſtorm.—Beauties of the road.—The Hague—Its elegant buildings.—Removal of armorial bearings.—Palace of the directory.—Firſt chamber of repreſentatives.—Tree of liberty.—Storks.—Houſe in the wood.—Catalogue of pictures.—The portraits of the Stadtholder and his family not to be ſeen.—Gardens belonging to the houſe in the wood.

November, 1800.

WE quitted Rotterdam about five in the afternoon of the 9th of November, in the treckschuyt, or paſſage-boat, for Delft, on our way to the Hague. The weather was unpleaſant and tempeſtuous, but nothing indicated the furious hurricane which overtook us at the diſtance of a mile from Rotterdam. It reſembled in violence rather the tornadoes which deſolate the tropics, than an European tempeſt. The rage of the wind, and the heavy

heavy rain which accompanied it, the agitation of the water, the darkneſs of the night, and the alarms of the paſſengers, conſpired to render our ſituation dreadful. The oldeſt perſon did not remember a more tremendous ſtorm, and no hurricane that I ever witneſſed in the Weſt Indies could be compared with it for violence. The elevation of the canal, ſome feet above the level of the earth, expoſed the boat to the whole force of the wind, and it was abſolutely impracticable either to advance or return. In this dangerous ſituation we muſt have remained all night, but fortunately towards nine in the evening the ſtorm was ſo much abated, as to permit us to reach Overſchie, a miſerable village about the diſtance of three miles from Rotterdam.

Here we landed, happy at our eſcape from the treckschuyt, to paſs the night. The canal was overflowed, and half the village inundated with water: at every ſtep we were wet to the knees, and torrents of rain completely drenched our upper garments. The tempeſtuouſneſs of the night had

had crowded Overſchie with ſtrangers, and moſt of the cabarets or ale-houſes were filled with gueſts. We were repulſed from two houſes, notwithſtanding all our endeavours to excite the avarice or the humanity of the landlords: and it added to our chagrin, that the boors, who ſat ſmoking their pipes over a comfortable turf fire, ſeemed to enjoy with great ſatisfaction our diſtreſs. At length we were received into a miſerable cabin; and fortunately procured an apartment for ourſelves. But there was no fire-place in it, and the rain deſcended, and the wind entered through various chinks. Coffee and gin were the only refreſhments which the houſe afforded, and neither of theſe very excellent in their kind. A damp bed completed the ſum of our misfortunes, and after a ſleepleſs night, we ſet off early in the morning in a voiture for the Hague.

Every-where from Overſchie to Delft, and from thence to the Hague, the deſtruction of the preceding evening met the eye. Trees, the growth of an age, were torn up by the roots, houſes thrown down, and others

others totally unroofed. The country for many miles was under water, owing to the overflowing of the canals; and at Delft the ſtreets were covered with the wreck of public and private buildings. The old church, in which national gratitude has erected monuments to the memory of Admiral Van Trump and Peter Heyne, was unroofed, and many chimneys of the Military Inſtitute, a modern erection, were blown down. Not a private houſe that I could perceive had eſcaped without ſome damage to its windows or roof; and the deſtruction had been particularly ſevere among the flight fantaſtic temples and ſummer-houſes which adorn the gardens of the Dutch. The overthrow of temples and ſtatues might afflict their poſſeſſors, but I regretted the fruit and foreſt trees that were deſtroyed: the ingenuity of man could repair the one, but time only re-eſtabliſh the other.

The great character which the Hague has obtained for the elegance of its buildings, and the delightfulneſs of its ſituation, made me ſo impatient to viſit it, particularly as I had

had recommendations to perſons every way qualified to ſhew its beauties, that I abridged the ſtay I intended to make in Rotterdam ſome days, and paſſed through Delft, ſcarcely beſtowing an hour on its curioſities.

From Delft to the Hague the road is magnificently grand. Notwithſtanding the advanced period of the ſeaſon, and the recent ſtorm, the proſpects and road are extremely delightful. It is of a ſufficient breadth to admit four or five carriages abreaſt, ſhaded on both ſides by lofty rows of trees, kept in excellent repair, and ſo level that not the leaſt inequality of ground is to be perceived. The country, though the fact is otherwiſe, appears, from the manner in which the trees are planted, to be excellently ſtocked with wood; and the ſummer-retreats of the opulent, which are thickly ſcattered over the country, diverſify the ſcene. On one ſide of the road flows the clear and tranquil canal, on which boats of buſineſs or pleaſure continually paſs and repaſs, giving an inconceivable ntereſt to the

the landſcape. Directly before him the lofty edifices of the Hague raiſe the expectations of the traveller, and the wood, as it is emphatically called, on the right of the town, preſents a ſcene of foreſt grandeur.

We alighted at the Parliament of England, a reſpectable hotel in the Hague, which, before the interruption of our intercourſe with Holland, was much frequented by Britiſh families of diſtinction. The accommodations here are good, and the maſter and ſervants politely attentive, though not equal to what fame reports of them. The trade of innkeepers has declined in the ſame proportion as the other branches of Dutch commerce; and therefore the ſolution is eaſy, why the hotel is inferior to the reputation which it bears. The perſon who formerly conducted the Parliament of England, with ſo much honour to himſelf and ſatisfaction to his gueſts, was an Engliſhman; but he retired from buſineſs ſhortly after the expulſion of the ſtadtholder, and the conſequent removal of Britiſh ſubjects from the Hague. His ſucceſſor, with every poſſible

diſpoſition to gratify thoſe who frequent his houſe, has not the ability; for, alas! the Hague is no longer the reſort of the wealthy and luxurious from all parts of Europe, and by ſuch gueſts alone is an inn to be maintained in ſplendour. I conjectured from the name of the hotel, and its having been much frequented by perſons of the Britiſh nation, that I ſhould find ſome one who could ſpeak Engliſh, but I was diſappointed, and to add to my mortification, the waiters ſpeak French moſt barbarouſly.

Geographers and travellers have perſiſted in calling the Hague a village, becauſe it is not ſurrounded with walls or fortifications, which are neceſſary in their opinions to conſtitute a town or a city; but probably it is indebted for this humble appellation to the ſignification of its name in the Dutch language, *s'Graven Haag*, or the Count's Hedge, it forming ſome centuries ago a part of the domains of the counts of Holland. I will not diſpute or vindicate the propriety of a term which is of ſo little conſequence to ſettle.

Village

Village or town, the Hague is a place of wonderful magnificence. The Voorhout, which I deem the principal ſtreet, contains many elegant and claſſical buildings, in the pureſt ſtyle of architecture; and none of the monſtrous, unnatural defects are to be perceived, which diſtinguiſh the mercantile erections of Rotterdam. Walking in the mall, which is in the middle of this ſtreet, I could have conceived myſelf to be in one of the moſt elegant towns of Italy, but for the murky atmoſphere, ſurcharged with foggy vapours, which hung over my head, and never permitted one genial ray of the ſun to bleſs me with its warmth; and the groteſque figures of Dutch milk-maids, fiſh-carriers, &c. bawling moſt inharmoniouſly their various commodities to ſell. In this ſtreet the houſe of the prince of Wielburgh, who is allied to the ſtadtholder's family, and that of the ambaſſador of the French republic, which was formerly the reſidence of the Britiſh miniſter, are buildings of uncommon elegance; but, either from a want of taſte, or a love of ſimplicity, I preferred the houſe

which belongs to the head of the Bentinck family in Holland. On the abolition of the ancient conſtitution of the United Provinces, this gentleman was confined in priſon upwards of two years, and his property ſequeſtrated; he is at preſent at liberty, and his eſtates have been reſtored.

The Vyverburg is the next ſtreet which claims the attention of a ſtranger. It is in the form of an oblong ſquare, with ſpacious walks ſhaded with trees, and a broad canal, or rather baſon of water. The ſtreets of the Hague are paved with a ſpecies of light-coloured bricks, which have a gay appearance; and theſe join ſo cloſely together, that no interſtices are to be perceived which can harbour dirt. Hence the ſtreets are kept extremely clean; and in the worſt weather a perſon may walk in them with little inconvenience.

I have mentioned the Vyverburg and the Voorhout as the ſtreets in the Hague to which I aſſign the pre-eminence; but there are many of great elegance I cannot particulariſe, which fully entitle this magnificent village

village to the high reputation for the ſplendour of its buildings which it enjoys. Theſe are decorated with trees, bridges of taſteful conſtruction, and canals; and the meaneſt of them poſſeſſes the recommendation of extreme cleanneſs. Before the conqueſt of Holland by the French, and the changes which ſucceeded that event, the houſes of the nobility and perſons of rank were ornamented with the armorial enſigns of their families; but ſuch remnants of chivalry and nobility are no longer permitted to be exhibited; and where their removal would have deformed the building, the ſhields remain deſpoiled of their quarterings. The arms which are affixed to the houſes where the deputies of the ſtates formerly reſided, being the armorial diſtinctions of the different provinces, are not ſubject to this ordinance, and conſequently remain: an exception alſo is to be ſeen at the Daniſh miniſter's houſe, where the arms of his maſter are ſo painted as to remind me of thoſe exhibitions of heraldry which many of the public-houſes of London diſplay; but if the ambaſſador, in departing

from general uſage, meant only to aſſert the prerogatives of his character, his wooden eſcutcheon and its wretched blazonry are honourable to him.

The palace of the ſtadtholder, now the national palace, in which the members of the Batavian directory reſide, and the two chambers of repreſentatives hold their meetings, is chiefly formed of old buildings, erected at different periods, and without any regularity of deſign. They are ſurrounded by a canal, over which are draw-bridges, and their external appearance is rather pleaſing. The exiled prince intended to have built a new palace, and ſhortly after the concluſion of the American war, one ſide of a quadrangle was erected of tolerable architecture. But the troubles which quickly followed in Holland, prevented the completion of this plan; and at preſent there is not any probability that the deſign will be carried into execution. In the new building, the firſt chamber of repreſentatives hold their ſittings. The hall appropriated to their uſe was the Stadtholder's concert room, and it

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is furniſhed in a manner worthy of the legiſlature of a wealthy nation. The ſeats of the members are covered with green baize, and riſe amphitheatrically, with deſks for the implements of writing. In the centre, on an elevated platform covered with a rich carpet, is the preſident's chair, of crimſon velvet, adorned with the hat, the faſces, and other emblems of freedom. At each end of the hall are galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators, and no money is permitted to be taken for admittance. I was preſent at a debate, which excited more than uſual intereſt at the Hague. The ſubject under conſideration was, whether corn and other articles of proviſion ſhould be allowed to be exported from the republic in neutral veſſels to Great Britain. This reſtriction was propoſed by the party moſt hoſtile to England, and carried by a large majority. But the debate was conducted with the utmoſt temperance and moderation, and I was aſſured the members rarely indulged in virulent abuſe of the Britiſh nation or government. The ſtadtholder is already conſigned to contemptuous

oblivion, or if his name is mentioned in their debates, he is ſpoken of with frigid indifference. This is undoubtedly the wiſeſt procedure, for the abdicated prince certainly has many partiſans warmly attached to his cauſe, whoſe indignation it would be dangerous to excite, and difficult to allay.

In a ſquare near the palace is the ſixth tree of liberty, as I was informed, which the municipality of the Hague have fruitleſsly planted in honour of the goddeſs of freedom. It was dead, but whether of a natural or a violent death I could not determine; the latter ſeemed probable, for ſome envious hand had lopped off its branches, and diſfigured its bark. What nymph could ſurvive a profanation ſo cruel? I did not learn that any perſon had been puniſhed for this indignity to the ſymbol of national freedom, nor were there any indications that another would be ſpeedily planted.

In the fiſh market, near the great church, attracted by the offals of the place, which furniſh them with a ready and plentiful ſuſtenance,

tenance, and protected by the prejudices of the people in their favour, are to be ſeen a number of ſtorks moſt familiarly tame. This bird is the peculiar protegée of republics, and if popular opinion is to be believed, the attachment it bears to liberty will not permit it to inhabit the dominions of a monarch. I will not vouch for the truth of this opinion; but certain it is, that the plumed favourite of the republic has for ages enjoyed the reſpect and protection of mankind. Plutarch * informs us, that in ſuch honour ſtorks were held in Theſſaly, that the puniſhment of exile was denounced againſt the man who ſhould unfortunately deſtroy one of theſe ſacred birds; and the Greek language has a word expreſſive of filial gratitude (αντιπε λαργειν), which, literally tranſlated, ſignifies to act like a ſtork. The veneration with which Greece regarded this bird was adopted by the Roman commonwealth. The virtuous Antoninus ſtamped on the reverſe of a medal which bore his head the image of a ſtork, and beneath the word *pietas* was in-

* De Iſide et Oſiride.

ſcribed;

ſcribed; and a poet who laſhed the worſt profligacy of a debauched age ſtyles it, "*Pietaticultrix, gracilipes, crotaliſtria.*" The attention of this bird to its aged parents, in defending them againſt attack, and furniſhing them with food, is a fact too well eſtabliſhed to be doubted; but I cannot bear teſtimony to the elegance of its form, or the harmony of its voice. Its legs are long, and, though admirably fitted for its modes of life, extremely diſproportionate to the ſize of its body; and the only ſounds which I heard it emit were piercing and diſſonant ſcreams. I, however, regard the ſtork with favour, and am pleaſed with the prejudice which protects the *pia avis* of Greece and Rome.

At the diſtance of a mile from the Hague, is the houſe in the wood; a place of retirement which belonged to the ſtadtholder, but is now converted into a receptacle for the national cabinet of pictures, except a ſuite of apartments which are occupied by the keeper of a tavern of no very decent character. It reflects little credit on thoſe who are charged with the care of the national domains, and from their functions muſt in ſome meaſure be

be conſidered as the guardians of public morals, that they permit a brothel to be eſtabliſhed within the ſacred precincts of a national palace. Yet, to the diſhonour of the Batavian government, ſuch is the purpoſe to which a part of the houſe in the wood is infamouſly proſtituted.

On the confiſcation of the property of the exiled ſtadtholder, the Dutch government, with laudable zeal for the encouragement of the polite arts, formed his collection of pictures, then eſteemed one of the moſt valuable in Europe, into a national gallery, and ſet apart an annual ſum for the augmentation of this cabinet by purchaſe. A noble ſuite of apartments in the houſe in the wood was provided for their reception, and a director of taſte and genius, with proper aſſiſtants, appointed to ſuperintend this national collection.

To the politeneſs of Mr. J. G. Waldorp, the keeper of this cabinet, a perſon of great intelligence and merit, I am highly indebted for the diſtinguiſhed attention which at various times he ſhewed me. He is himſelf a painter

painter of merit, and therefore qualified to judge critically of the performances of others; for though an amateur may have the higheſt poſſible reliſh for this art, it is probable beauties will eſcape him, which a painter alone can diſcover and appreciate.

The firſt chamber of this collection is allotted to pictures and portraits illuſtrative of the hiſtory of the United Provinces, and contains a ſucceſſion of the princes of Orange from William the Firſt to William the Third.

William I. prince of Orange, and Maurice, by Miervelt; Frederic-Henry, and William II. by Hondhorn; and Frederic-Henry by Palamedes; are portraits of uncommon merit: thoſe of Maurice and his brother William I. are perhaps the beſt.

The portrait of M. de Ruyter, by Ferdinand Bol, cannot be ſufficiently admired; and the ſame praiſe is due to Admiral Van Neſs and his wife, two exquiſite pictures by B. Vander Helſt.

The Duke of Alva, by D. Barns, is a moſt characteriſtic likeneſs of that cruel man. He

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is painted in armour, and every feature bears marks of a ferocious and ſanguinary diſpoſition. He is the general of an army of executioners, deliberating in cold blood the depopulation of provinces, the ſack of towns, and the maſſacre of defenceleſs women and children. It is impoſſible to look at this portrait without feeling an emotion of involuntary horror; and the heart turns with ſickneſs from this faithful repreſentation of a human monſter.

The virtuous republican Barneveldt, an enlightened ſtateſman, and ſtrenuous defender of Dutch freedom, by Paul Moreelſe, affords the ſpectator ſome relief after the contemplation of the fiendlike Spaniard.

But the picture of moſt excellence is the candle-light portrait of William III. of England, by Schalken. It was the cuſtom of this artiſt to place his ſubject and a candle in a dark room, and looking through a ſmall hole, he painted by day-light what he ſaw in the dark apartment. Tradition relates, that when he drew William, the tallow of the candle ran down upon the king's fingers, to the

the great diſcompoſure of the phlegmatic monarch. The effect of the candle-light is wonderfully executed, but there is a ſtiffneſs in the portrait which diſpleaſes, though it is undoubtedly a maſter-piece in that line of painting.

I ſhall only further notice in this apartment an allegorical painting of John de Wit, as a gooſe defending her eggs, to ſignify his care of the republic. Human energy and paſſions are well deſcribed in this picture; and it is no inferior praiſe to ſay, that it forcibly reminded me of the Vulture of an Engliſh artiſt of the higheſt merit *, which was exhibited laſt year at the Royal Academy.

As the liberality of the Dutch government has not yet furniſhed catalogues for the uſe of ſtrangers who viſit this national collection, I ſhall hold myſelf excuſable if I continue briefly to notice the principal ornaments of this cabinet.

In the ſecond chamber, the Maſſacre of the Innocents, by Cornelius Van Haarlem, poſ-

* Mr. Northcote.

ſeſſes

ſeſſes many terrific beauties. Mary Magdalenes, by Carlo Maratti and Titian, are paintings of extraordinary worth; but the beautiful Magdalene by Corregio is a picture of ſuperior excellence. Penitence and hope are moſt divinely blended in the countenance of the reclaimed female.

An *ecce homo*, by Gaſper de Crayer, may ſafely be praiſed, when it is told that Rubens could admire the picture, and envy the artiſt. The agony of the countenance of Jeſus is finely expreſſed.

Cleopatra with an aſp at her breaſt, by Guido; St. John the Baptiſt, a youth, by M. Coxie; and Venus and Adonis, by Willebors; are pieces of great merit: but from theſe, and a Venus couchant, with Cupid near her, by the Chavelier Vander Werf, the ſpectator turns with little reluctance to the Triumph of Love, by Flink. The Venus of this piece is moſt voluptuouſly beautiful, and nothing is left for the imagination of the beholder to ſupply.

"Quare nuda Venus nudi pinguntur amores?"

A St. Peter, in Gobelin tapeſtry, poſſeſſes ſufficient

ſufficient excellence to ſecure it an honourable place in this apartment, though expreſsly againſt the ſpirit of the inſtitution. It bears a great reſemblance to the ingenious exhibitions at Hanover-ſquare.

The moſt ſtriking pieces in the third chamber, are four paintings of dead game, by Hondekoeter, and one by Wenix. The pictures of the former enjoy a deſerved reputation, but the colouring of Wenix is more brilliant. The plumage of his dead pheaſant is a perfect imitation of that beautiful bird, nor are his animals leſs to be praiſed for their exquiſite correctneſs. A quack vending his medicines, by Jan Steen, and a ſurgeon's ſhop, by J. M. Sorg, are two comic pieces of great humour, and good execution.

The cieling of the fourth apartment is painted by Laireſſe, an artiſt of whom the Dutch nation has reaſon to be proud; and four ſtories from Ovid, by the ſame hand, ornament as many compartments of the room. T. M. Torquatus putting his ſon to death, by F. Bol: the decapitated trunk and

and ſevered head are drawn in a maſterly manner. The departure of Æneas from Carthage, by the ſame. Two landſcapes by Glauber. Twelve ſmall pictures deſcribing the hiſtory of Claudius Civilis, a noble Batavian, according to the relation of Tacitus, who for ſome time gallantly defended the independence of his country againſt the encroachments of imperial Rome, are from the pencil of Otto Venius, and of ſuch excellence, that the great Lord Bolingbroke, a man whoſe judgment in whatever relates to the elegant arts few will be inclined to ſuſpect, offered to purchaſe them at the extraordinary price of ten thouſand pounds.

The anti-chamber to the ſmall audience-room, or Chineſe apartment, contains, with many which I ſhall omit, the Holy Family, by Rubens; Mary Magdalene, by Vandyke; the Annunciation, by Lange Jan; the Birth of Venus by Jordaans; and the four ſeaſons of the year by the ſame. The figure of winter as an old woman is admirably depicted, and the effect of fire-light exquiſitely managed.

The great hall of audience is an octagonal building, erected by Amelia of Solms, in honour of her huſband Frederic-Henry, and contains a ſeries of paintings, admirably executed, deſcriptive of his life.

The Apotheoſis of Frederic-Henry, by Jordaans, is a picture of prodigious ſize, and extraordinary merit, in which the artiſt has introduced a portrait of himſelf. But the repreſentation of Time deſtroying all things, by the ſame painter, exhibits more beauties.

The other artiſts who have contributed to decorate this apartment, are Rubens, Vanderwerf, Du Buay, Soutman, Van Fulden, &c.

In the time of the ſtadtholder, this apartment was often uſed as a concert-room, and when the Orange family dined in public, the hall of audience was the ſcene of their repaſts. Thither the good Dutchman repaired to view his ſovereign, not aſſiſting at deliberations of ſtate, or employed in the exerciſe of ſupreme magiſtracy, but enjoying the pleaſures, the humble pleaſures, of a luxurioufly-furniſhed table.

In

In the common eating-room are three grey paintings, in imitation of baſſo-relievo, by J. de Wit. They repreſent Atalanta and Meleager, the four ſeaſons of the year, and Venus and Adonis; and are ſo admirably executed as at a very ſhort diſtance to deceive the moſt critical eye. They appear ſo to ſtand out from the wall, that the ſpectator imagines he could bruſh the duſt from the projecting figures; nor are the deſigns of theſe pictures leſs elegant than the deception is happily managed *. In this apartment is ſhewn an ancient ball of wood, into which a number of nails were driven by the firſt Dutch confederates who aſſembled to reſcue their country from the tyranny of Philip II.; and the cup is alſo preſerved out of which theſe patriots drank to the ſucceſs of their holy cauſe. Here is a cannon of gold and ſilver,

* Elegant as theſe figures are, it muſt be conſidered that deception is the meaneſt branch of the art of painting, and it is therefore to be regretted that the artiſt did not uſe his pencil for nobler purpoſes.

enriched with diamonds, which was given by a dey of Algiers, as a proof of his eſteem, or fear, to Admiral de Ruyter; and a park of artillery in miniature, which was made for the inſtruction of the ſtadtholder's ſons in the art of war.

The furniture of this houſe, which was ſumptuous, as well as of the other palaces which belonged to the ſtadtholder, was confiſcated by the French, and ſold for their uſe, under pretext that the republic had declared war againſt the Prince of Orange perſonally. A ſimilar fate would have attended his magnificent collection of pictures, but the Dutch government wiſely redeemed this treaſure, and, in imitation of their ſiſter republic, founded a national gallery. Since its foundation in ninety-ſeven, to November, eighteen hundred, three thouſand one hundred and twenty tickets of admiſſion only had been iſſued; a proof that much taſte for the fine arts does not exiſt in Holland, or that few ſtrangers have reſorted to the Hague. The price of admiſſion is about one ſhilling

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and ſixpence, and the money ſo collected aſſiſts to defray the expences of the inſtitution.

In this houſe, as elſewhere, the arms of the Orange family are carefully obliterated, and the portraits of the ſtadtholder, his father, his princeſs, and their children, are diſpoſſeſſed of their places. A ſmall equeſtrian figure in bronze of Frederic the Great, the gift of that king to his niece the Princeſs of Orange, maintains its place, perhaps equally through reſpect to the character of that illuſtrious prince, and fear of offending the powerful court of Berlin. But the portraits of George II. and Caroline, of Ann their daughter, the mother of the ſtadtholder, and of various royal perſonages of a more recent date, are conſigned to the lumber-room of the palace, that the eye of the republican amateur may not be offended by their preſence, or the Orangiſt gratified by delineations of the objects of his attachment. As the portraits of the moſt renowned princes of the houſe of Orange are permitted to remain, the abſence of the mo-

dern likeneſſes can occaſion the unprejudiced ſpectator but little regret, unleſs indeed he conſiders their removal as an inſult to fallen grandeur.

Great care is taken of the gardens belonging to the Houſe in the Wood, at the expence of the nation, and in fine weather they are reſorted to from the Hague, as a promenade ſomewhat in the ſtyle of our parks. What attractions they poſſeſs when ſummer draws forth the beauties of vegetation, I am not competent from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon to pronounce; but undoubtedly they are laid out in the worſt ſtyle of horticulture. Here are ſtagnated canals in abundance, with puerile bridges thrown over them, trees bent and cut into fantaſtic ſhapes, and flower-beds of a thouſand forms. But every thing is unnatural and artificial. The canal meanders without grace, and trees ſtunted in their growth exhibit nothing but ſpecimens of deformity. The luxuriance of Nature ſmiles not here, and her operations are carefully limited with more than mathematical ſeverity. It is a fault of leſs conſequence certainly

certainly than thoſe which I have noticed, but nevertheleſs of conſiderable magnitude, that the garden-walks here are ſtrewn with ſand, and a ſoft ſpecies of ſea-ſhell, which ſoon pulveriſes, inſtead of gravel. Theſe walks offend the eye, and are diſagreeable to the feet; in wet weather I ſhould imagine they acquire the conſiſtency of mortar.

LETTER VI.

The prince's cabinet of curioſities removed to Paris—What would probably have been its fate had it been tranſported to England.—Scheveling.—Diſtreſs of the fiſhermen of Scheveling on the departure of the Prince of Orange.—Rejoicings at the Hague on the ſame occaſion.—Sketch of the hiſtory of the ſtadtholders.—Reports to the diſadvantage of the preſent Prince of Orange.—Diſcontents in Holland.—Imprudence of the Princeſs of Orange.—Effects of the French revolution in the United Provinces.—Animoſity of the Dutch towards the Britiſh troops.—Moderation of the French.—Some account of General Daendals.—The revolution of Holland effected without blood.—French emigrants.—What would be the reception of an Engliſhman in the French army.—A citizen of the world.

AMONG the curioſities at the Hague which formerly attracted the attention of the inquiſitive

inquiſitive ſtranger, the prince's cabinet of natural hiſtory and muſeum of rarities held a diſtinguiſhed place. It is now removed to Paris; and as the influence of party operates, its loſs is regarded as a weighty misfortune, or a trifle unworthy of notice. They who accommodate themſelves to the circumſtances of the times, repreſent it as a collection of baubles fit only for the amuſement of women and children; and the enemies of the preſent ſyſtem, who inveigh againſt the rapacity of the French, maintain its ſuperiority over the Britiſh Muſeum. The real value of this cabinet is perhaps to be found in the medium between theſe oppoſite opinions. Profeſſor Pallas, the Pliny of Ruſſia, acquired in this collection the elements of that knowledge which has ſince rendered his name illuſtrious; and Camper, one of the moſt profound geniuſes which the United Provinces ever produced, and a natural philoſopher of deſerved reputation, ſtudied in the ſame ſchool. It may therefore be preſumed, that this collection could enrich the man of ſcience, as well as amuſe the feeble amateur,

amateur, and its removal muſt be conſidered as an event eminently diſſerviceable to the progreſs of natural hiſtory in Holland. This is the more to be regretted, as the Dutch have perhaps cultivated natural hiſtory, and the ſciences allied to it, which demand perſeverance in enquiry and accuracy of obſervation, with more ſucceſs than any other nation in Europe. Had this cabinet been tranſported to England, it would probably have been added, with little advantage to ſcience, to the duſty ſtores of Montague-houſe; nor is it probable its fate will be happier in the National Inſtitute of France, where it now repoſes. The Dutch government might have purchaſed its redemption at a moderate price; but legiſlators are not often philoſophers; and while the wealth of nations is exhauſted for the deſtruction of the human ſpecies, ſmall are the ſums that are expended for the advancement of uſeful knowledge.

At the diſtance of two miles from the Hague is Scheveling, the village from which the ſtadtholder embarked, when he fled from his

country. Its inhabitants are chiefly fiſhermen, and theſe poor men beheld the departure of their prince with the livelieſt concern. The beach was crowded with afflicted ſpectators, whoſe reſpectful ſilence and tears ſpoke their feelings. The ſtadtholder, his ſon the hereditary prince, and two or three Dutch noblemen, attached to the fortunes of the houſe of Orange, embarked on board a ſmall fiſhing veſſel, navigated by five men, and bid adieu, probably for ever, to their country. The princeſſes had departed the day before in a veſſel equally unſuitable to their rank and ſex; and ſuch may be conſidered as the end of the political exiſtence of a family which for two hundred years watched over the ſafety of the republic.

While the poor fiſhermen at Scheyeling lamented their fugitive princes, the populace at the Hague, with that inconſtancy which characteriſes the vulgar, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner to expreſs their contempt of their ancient governors, and to inſult the unfortunate partiſans of the houſe of Orange. The moſt diſtinguiſhed nobles who remained,

ed, generouſly determined to ſhare the fate of their country, were thrown into priſon to protect them from popular violence, and guards were placed in their houſes to preſerve them from pillage. It may not be improper here to mention, that the conduct of a Dutch mob is ſtrongly marked with the characteriſtic frugality of the nation. They will plunder their real or ſuppoſed enemies without reluctance; but when their reſentments extend even to an utter diſregard for the lives of individuals, they as carefully avoid the deſtruction of property, as they would in the moſt equitable tranſactions. Immediately that the flight of the prince was known, his tradeſmen wiſely removed from their ſhops the armorial bearings of the houſe of Orange, which before were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, and ſubſtituted in their place thoſe emblems of liberty which inflamed the paſſions of the populace. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions not to exaſperate the mob, the ſecurity of theſe inoffenſive perſons and their property was extremely dubious, until the arrival of a detachment of the French

army

army at the Hague, four days after the departure of the ſtadtholder. The French troops were accompanied by two members of the convention, dignified with the lofty title of repreſentatives of the people, who prohibited in ſevere terms any tumultuous meetings, and preſerved by their vigorous meaſures the unfortunate adherents of the ſtadtholder from the terrible effects of popular indignation. It is ſaid that the leaders of the patriotic party, as it was ſtyled, who had been oppreſſed by the Orange faction, ſolicited permiſſion for eight-and-forty hours to exerciſe the vengeance they thirſted for on their enemies; but the French repreſentatives magnanimouſly declared, that they came to deliver the whole Batavian people from oppreſſion, not to gratify the reſentments of individuals, and a proclamation was iſſued to reſtrain popular violence. The ſalutary effects of theſe wiſe meaſures, and the evils which were thereby averted, were pointed out to me, in a ſtrain of becoming gratitude, by a perſon warmly attached to the exiled prince,

prince, and ardently desirous of his re-establishment.

The joy which manifested itself at the Hague on the departure of the stadtholder will occasion some astonishment, when we consider how much that village was indebted for its splendour to the fostering care of the house of Orange. From the death of William I. towards the close of the sixteenth century, it had been, with few intervals, the residence of the court, and the seat of government. The ample revenues of the stadtholder were principally expended here, and the persons attached to him through interest or principle were numerous in every class of society. His splendid establishment gave easy employment and support to multitudes, and the extensive patronage which he enjoyed in consequence of his high offices in the state, if attended with some degree of envy, afforded him the ready means of conciliating many friends.

In the personal character of the prince, and the circumstances of the times, we shall discover

diſcover the cauſes of that animoſity againſt him which immediately on his departure was virulently diſplayed. The ſervices performed by the firſt princes of the houſe of Orange were rewarded by the republic with the higheſt employments of dignity and truſt in the ſtate, and the confidence of the nation was not abuſed by the illuſtrious chiefs to whom power was thus delegated. The ſplendid abilities of the firſt ſtadtholders, and their ſucceſſes in wars and negociations, happily aſſerted and eſtabliſhed with renown the independence of the United Provinces. If their enemies have accuſed them with juſtice of uniformly endeavouring to extend their authority at the expence of the liberties of the people, the luſtre of their glories threw a veil over their ambition, and the ſolid benefits they conferred on the ſtate were gratefully acknowledged by the ſterneſt republicans. For upwards of a hundred years, under an auſpicious ſucceſſion of five princes of the houſe of Orange, the United Provinces flouriſhed in arms, riches, and arts. A territory of ſmall geographical extent ranked with

with the moſt potent kingdoms of Europe; and reſiſted the gigantic forces of the monarchies of England and France.

From the death of William the Third, whoſe talents and addreſs reſcued the republic from the moſt imminent danger, the ſtadtholderate remained vacant; till the difficulties in which the ſtates found themſelves involved in 1747, together with the wiſhes of the nation, and the powerful interpoſition of George the Second, induced them to confer that dignity on William the father of the preſent Prince of Orange, and to make the offices of captain-general and admiral-general of the republic hereditary in his family. William the Fourth was a prince of conſiderable talents, but he ſurvived his elevation only a few years, and his adminiſtration was too ſhort for the nation to derive much advantage from it.

The ſtadtholders hitherto had ſhed a luſtre on the republic by their great abilities, which concealed their deſigns againſt the liberties of the people; but William the Fifth inherited the ambition of his anceſtors, without any

pretenſions

pretenſions to their ſplendid talents. His reign (if I may be permitted to uſe that term to denominate an authority almoſt regal) was marked by a ſucceſſion of diſaſters, and cloſed with the conqueſt of his country and his precipitate flight. If a long train of circumſtances, for which the ſtadtholder could not be blamed, had impaired the reſources and weakened the energies of the republic, its fall was undoubtedly accelerated by the feeble and impolitic adminiſtration of that prince and his miniſters. But the chief cauſe of his unpopularity, and of the extravagant joy that was diſplayed on his departure, was his attachment to the court of London. The Dutch had long viewed with bitter jealouſy, on account of their own impoveriſhed trade, the flouriſhing commerce of the Britiſh empire, and a myſterious connection highly unfavourable to the republic was ſuppoſed to exiſt between the ſtadtholder and the Engliſh government.

It was reported (with what truth I cannot determine) and received with avidity, that the battle of the Dogger Bank, a combat

honourable to the Dutch marine, was fought in diſobedience to the orders of the admiral-general; and amongſt other rumours then circulated and afterwards revived, it was ſaid, that when the news of the battle arrived at the Hague, the ſtadtholder expreſſed his ſatisfaction that the Engliſh had not loſt any ſhips. A naval officer, extremely well diſpoſed to the new government, to whom in converſation I applied for information on the ſubject, aſſured me of his entire diſbelief of either reports; and it is probable had any evidence exiſted of orders given by the ſtadtholder to his admirals to avoid the Engliſh fleet, the directory would have publiſhed a fact ſo diſgraceful to the Prince of Orange.

But if we reject, as originating in the malice of party, the ſtory which accuſes the ſtadtholder of abſolutely betraying his country, and expreſſing a moſt unnatural joy at the ſucceſs of its enemies, it is certain his partiality for England was ſo plainly manifeſted as to excite univerſal diſcontent, not only in the great commercial cities of the United Provinces, which regarded Great Britain

Britain as the dangerous and inſidious rival of their trade, but at the Hague and other places where the perſonal influence of the Prince of Orange might be ſuppoſed to be conſiderable.

Theſe diſcontents, ſhortly after the reſtoration of peace, ripened into open inſurrection, and the ſtadtholder would have been diſmiſſed with ignominy from his government, had not Pruſſia and Great Britain interfered for the preſervation of his authority. The arms of one of theſe powers, and the threats of the other, maintained the Prince of Orange in his offices, and even procured for him an acceſſion of power. But his forcible reeſtabliſhment in the ſtadtholderate by the violent interference of foreign powers, gave great offence to the moderate as well as to the republican party, and in proportion as the prince's authority was augmented, the reſpect to his character was diminiſhed. The zealous republicans, who with difficulty would have tolerated a ſtadtholder of the moſt profound talents, beheld with vivid indignation that high dignity, at a criſis

which demanded conſummate abilities, filled by a prince of a very limited capacity; and the notion was extenſively circulated by the miſchievous activity of party, that the calamities of the nation were to be attributed ſolely to the maladminiſtration of the prince.

Other cauſes contributed to ſwell the ſtream of popular odium which flowed againſt the ſtadtholder. His princeſs, a woman of more than ordinary powers of underſtanding, was on many accounts extremely diſagreeable to the Dutch, and had on ſome occaſions, where the utmoſt delicacy of management was required*, interfered in public meaſures in a manner unbecoming her ſituation and ſex. Her aſcendency over the prince her huſband might have been overlooked or applauded, as the natural conſequence of ſu-

* The Princeſs of Orange, without any acknowledged character in the republic, which permitted her to interfere in public affairs, anſwered in her own name ſome memorials which during the troubles in 1787 the ſtates-general addreſſed to the prince her huſband, and in a ſtyle ſo haughty and overbearing as to excite univerſal indignation.

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perior talents, had her counſels tended to the proſperity of the republic; but they were uniformly directed to augment the power of the ſtadtholder, and with little ſuitable attention to the genius or prejudices of the nation, on whoſe rights ſhe endeavoured to encroach. She poſſeſſed few of thoſe qualities which engage the affections of the vulgar; and the ſevere etiquette of her court, together with its expenſive magnificence, diſguſted the higher ranks of a frugal people, jealous of their liberties.

The French revolution added a third party to the factions which divided Holland, and it may be doubted whether the majority of the Dutch nation entered cordially into the war with France. The republican party looked up to France as the only power capable of delivering them from the yoke of the ſtadtholder, and the influence of England; and it is well known that when the Auſtrian and Britiſh troops bravely diſputed every inch of ground, the Dutch forces oppoſed a very feeble reſiſtance to the French army. If it is certain that there was much diſaffection or

ſupineneſs in the Dutch army, where the influence of the ſtadtholder might be ſuppoſed to be conſiderable, it will not occaſion wonder that many towns and cities of the republic openly avowed a diſpoſition hoſtile to his cauſe. At a time when the further progreſs of the French was dubious, and the career of their arms might have been arreſted, had the Dutch cordially united to defend their country, the ſick and wounded of the Britiſh army were refuſed admiſſion into Delft, and a corps of burghers was formed at Amſterdam to prevent the entrance of foreign troops (by which were excluſively meant the Engliſh) into that city. Other inſtances equally ſtrong might be brought forward.

A ſhort time before the French croſſed the Waal, which paſſage decided the fate of the republic, the ſtadtholder was inveſted with additional powers, which in ſome ſort reſembled thoſe of the ancient dictators of Rome. But in obtaining the paramount object of his ambition, he alienated more and more the affections of his countrymen, and his proclamation commanding the people to

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rife in a maſs, ſcarcely procured the additional ſtrength of fifty recruits to the Dutch army. It was then ordered throughout the United Provinces, that three houſes ſhould furniſh one man among them for the defence of the republic; but the antipathy of the nation to the ſtadtholder's government prevented the execution of this plan.

Under theſe circumſtances of almoſt univerſal irritation and diſcontent, the intelligence of the Prince of Orange's flight was generally received with tranſports of joy. Policy, or the fear of giving offence to the predominate party, if they acted otherwiſe, undoubtedly induced ſome to affect the popular enthuſiaſm, and ſome, for no ſolid reaſons deſirous of a change, rejoiced they knew not why; but a vaſt majority, fully expreſſing the voice and wiſh of the nation, beheld with the moſt ſincere pleaſure, notwithſtanding the calamitous circumſtances which made it neceſſary, the abdication of the ſtadtholder.

The moderation which marked the firſt acts of the French commanders and repre-

ſentatives, was oppoſed to the rigorous meaſures which the ſad neceſſities of the times obliged the ſtadtholder to have recourſe to, and tended at once to reconcile the people to the important changes which took place, and to render the ſubverted government odious. Had the revolution been effected by the Dutch patriots, it is probable much blood would have been ſhed, for the reſentments of the leaders of that party were ſharpened by ſeven years' proſcription, and the haughty triumph of their adverſaries. General Daendals, who fled from Holland in 1787, on account of the active part which he took in the troubles of that time, became afterwards a general of diviſion in the army which conquered his country, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on a variety of arduous occaſions. During his exile, this perſon is ſuppoſed to have imbibed at Paris ſome of the ſanguinary ſentiments of the revolutionary clubs; and as he may be conſidered as one of the heads of the patriotic party, it is of conſequence to relate what thoſe ſentiments were. In 1787, on account of his oppoſition

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to the authority of the ſtadtholder, and ſubſequent flight from Holland, he incurred a kind of outlawry, in conſequence of which his property and eſtates, which were conſiderable, were confiſcated and ſold. On his triumphant return to his country in 1795, and the political annihilation of his enemies, he was not content with being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtates, and receiving ample indemnification for the loſs of his property, but he threatened with extermination all who had been concerned in the confiſcation or detention of his fortune. Happily he could not communicate the ſame ſpirit of perſonal animoſity and virulence to the French commanders, and conſequently his plans of terrible vengeance proved abortive.

General Daendals, on the ſettlement of the new government, was appointed commander in chief of the Batavian forces, in which capacity he rendered important ſervices to the republic when the Engliſh invaded Holland: he ſtill continues to fill this ſituation, and I am ſincerely pleaſed to add with the moſt laudable moderation. Of his abilities

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as a general I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak, I ſhall therefore at preſent only obſerve, that they fully juſtify the high confidence which the nation and government repoſe in him.

It is moſt honourable to all who were concerned in the ſubverſion of the ancient government of the United Provinces, a government which had ſubſiſted two hundred years, reſpected in its foreign and domeſtic relations, and enjoying all the advantages of preſcription and long eſtabliſhment, that not one drop of human blood was judicially ſhed on its overthrow. I was at great pains to gather what would probably have been the fate of the ſtadtholder and his family, had they awaited in Holland the ſtorm that burſt over their unfortunate houſe, and amidſt a great diverſity of opinions, the prevailing ſentiment was, that they would have been baniſhed from the territories of the republic. This opinion is corroborated by the knowledge of the influence which the King of Pruſſia, at that time negociating with France, poſſeſſed in the councils of that republic;

republic; and he certainly would have averted, either by threats or force, any violence from being offered to the Princeſs of Orange his ſiſter, or her family. But undoubtedly, under the alarming circumſtances in which they were placed, the wiſeſt meaſure which the family of Orange could purſue, was that which they adopted; for had they remained at the Hague till the arrival of the enemy, had their perſonal ſafeties not been endangered, they muſt have ſuffered many indignities, and been haraſſed with much anxiety and alarm.

In the courſe of the enquiries from whence the foregoing information and opinions were derived, I learnt that on the arrival of the French at Amſterdam, three emigrants were ſhot in the ſquare before the ſtadthouſe of that city. Similar executions to a much greater extent had taken place on the frontiers, but the men ſo put to death were found in arms againſt the republic, while the unfortunate wretches that ſuffered at Amſterdam were guilty of no other crime than that of having quitted their country. The

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number of French emigrants who were in the interior of Holland, at the time when it was over-run by their countrymen, was conſiderable, but through the clemency of General Pichegru, or his humane connivance, the interpoſition of the Dutch government, and the activity of their own fears, which furniſhed them with wings to fly, three only were publicly executed. On the departure of the prince from Scheveling, an order was ſent from the ſtates-general to prevent the ſailing of any more veſſels from that place: had it been ſtrictly attended to, three or four fiſhing boats crowded with wretched emigrants would have been detained, but their unhappy ſituation, and the urgency of their caſe, procured them a ready exemption from an order which, perhaps, was only meant to conciliate the conquerors.

A French general of high rank, whoſe acquaintance I gained through the kindneſs of General Chorié, converſing with me reſpecting the lives of the emigrants, aſſured me that many of theſe unhappy men would have been ſaved, had the powers who coaliſced againſt France vigorouſly

vigorouſly interpoſed in their behalf, and exerciſed for a period ſimilar ſeverities on the republican troops, had their remonſtrances been unattended with ſucceſs. He informed me, that when a town ſurrendered to the arms of France, in which emigrants were ſuppoſed to be, it was not unuſual for the general commanding the beſieging forces to allow the governor of the captured town a number of covered waggons, which ſhould be permitted to paſs without inſpection, in order that the miſerable emigrants might eſcape in them; but it ſometimes happened that mercenary commanders choſe rather to employ theſe waggons for their private emolument, than to uſe them for the humane purpoſes for which they were granted, and in ſuch caſes the ſevere laws of the republic were ſternly executed. With a national pride, which did honour to his heart, he added, at the moment when he moſt loudly condemned their principles, that the emigrants were the braveſt enemies whom the republican troops had to encounter. I inſinuated that he might miſtake for heroic courage what

what was in reality the effects of deſpair; but he aſſured me again and again that their exceſſive gallantry proceeded from no other cauſe than their being Frenchmen.

I was much pleaſed with a ſentiment expreſſed by the ſame intelligent perſon, which alſo, now that their zeal for making converts is abated, is held by moſt reſpectable Frenchmen, and marks the return the nation is making to its former habits of thinking. I aſked him what reception an Engliſhman would receive at his hands, who ſhould offer to ſerve in the armies of the French republic. He anſwered, he ſhould endeavour to diſſuade him from his purpoſe; but if his arguments proved ineffectual, it would then be his duty to ſignify the offer to the commander in chief, or the miniſter at war. In that caſe, the Engliſhman might probably receive an appointment, but from that moment he ſhould conſider him unworthy of a place at his table, and not deſerving to receive the ſlighteſt attention or civility. He would view him as a ſoldier with ſuſpicion, and as a man with contempt. In theſe ſentiments, he added, moſt

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of the officers with whom he had ſerved cordially joined, and there were few republicans of integrity and reflecton who were not of the ſame opinion.

I was amuſed at the houſe of a citizen of the world (ſuch was the appellation which he beſtowed on himſelf), where we dined—whoſe country you cannot miſtake when I inform you, that he aſſured me Sir John Pringle was the moſt ſkilful phyſician that had appeared ſince the days of Hippocrates or Celſus—with the contraſt of a man coldly appreciating the merits and defects of different nations, and pretending an equal attachment to all, and two or three Frenchmen ſo partial to their own, as to affirm all excellence was confined to the territories of their republic. The warm enthuſiaſm of the Frenchmen was an agreeable vanity which it was impoſſible not to admire, and eſpecially as it was oppoſed to the frigid, cold-hearted ſyſtem of the North Briton. One of the Frenchmen had been a planter in Saint Domingo, where he had valuable eſtates, which, as tranquillity is now in a great meaſure

meaſure reſtored to that iſland, he hopes to recover. He deſcribed with great ſenſibility his feelings on ſeeing the coaſt of France, from the deck of the veſſel which brought him to Europe, after an abſence of ſixteen years. He had ſuffered much from the revolution both in the Weſt-Indies and in France, where his patrimonial fortune was ſequeſtrated; but ſtill he loved his country with unabated fervour, and was moſt deeply intereſted in its welfare. This gentleman is promiſed by Bonaparte a high appointment in Saint Domingo, whenever the French government ſhall turn its attention to that iſland, and this he intimated was now in contemplation.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

The road from the Hague to Scheveling.—Deſtruction, occaſioned by the late ſtorm.—The beach at Scheveling.—Averſion of the Dutch to the air of the ſea.—The fiſheries of Holland.—Theatre at the Hague.—A member of the Batavian directory.—Impoveriſhment of the Hague.—Thoughts concerning the reſtoration of the Stadtholder.—Character of his deceaſed ſon.—Account of the preſent King of Pruſſia.—Literary traffic of the Hague.—Great diminution of its magnificence.—French troops.—Their pay.

The Hague, November, 1800.

THE fiſhermen of Scheveling, and the departure of the chiefs of the houſe of Orange from that village, led me into a digreſſion from which I return with pleaſure. If it afforded amuſement or information, an apology is unneceſſary; if the contrary, the beſt is to

be found in my intentions, which were to contribute, as far as my limited powers would permit, to both.

The road from the Hague to Scheveling is ſo juſtly praiſed by the Dutch, and pointed out as an object of admiration to ſtrangers, that I ſhould be liable to well-founded cenſure did I not attempt to deſcribe it. The length of this avenue is near two miles, and its breadth about twenty paces, or rather more. It is a perfectly ſtraight line, ſo that the entrance of the road commands a view of the whole; and happily a pictureſque object, the church of Scheveling, terminates the proſpect. On each ſide it is ſhaded by beeches, limes, and oaks of an aſtoniſhing growth, which are ſo cloſely and ſkilfully planted, at the ſame time without incommoding each other, that they form to appearance an impervious foreſt. Great care, but certainly not more than it deſerves, is taken to preſerve this magnificent grove from injury or depredation. Here the fond lover may brood in ſolitude over his paſſion, but muſt not wound the bark of a tree with the initials of his miſtreſs's

miſtreſs's name; nor muſt the miſchievous boy exerciſe his agility at climbing in this conſecrated wood. Woe be to the miſerable wretch who is detected here picking a few ſticks to light her fire; the ſpin-houſe or bridewell would be the puniſhment of her offence. At ſhort diſtances, cautions are fixed up, like thoſe in England, offering rewards to informers, and denouncing the ſevereſt penalties againſt offenders; and that the moſt illiterate may not be ignorant of theſe regulations, pictures of indifferent execution, deſcribing the ſtory of a boy tranſgreſſing and chaſtiſed, are exhibited in conſpicuous ſituations. But it is probable that the veneration which the Dutch have for trees in general, and in particular for theſe, on account of their peculiar beauty, are the beſt ſafeguards of this delightful wood.

The merit of planning this avenue, according to our *valet de place*, whoſe authority I believe may be relied upon in this caſe, ſince I find it is ſupported by the printed account of the Hague, belongs to Conſtantine Huygens, the brother of the celebrated

mathematician and mechaniſt of that name; and the age of the ſtatelieſt trees is near a century and a half. The late ſtorm has committed moſt deplorable ravages here. The perſon whom I have juſt mentioned, with that accurate attention which is a characteriſtic feature of the Dutch nation, counted fifty-ſix noble trees torn up from their roots by the violence of the wind, and the deſtruction of branches and underwood was proportionally great. The poor fellow, when he pointed out the beauties of the road, lamented the deſolation of the ſtorm with much feeling, and heaved a ſigh at every tree of more than ordinary magnitude (and they were numerous) which had been levelled to the earth.

The ocean, which waſhes the village of Scheveling, is concealed from view by ſand-hills, until you approach it ſo near as thirty or forty yards: it then burſts upon your ſight with inconceivable grandeur; and though you are acquainted with its proximity, its ſudden appearance produces an indeſcribable effect. The beach here is extremely fine,

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and forms a beautiful ſemi-circle of about ſix miles extent. On this beach was tried the famous flying chariot of Stevinus*, which my uncle Toby has introduced to the acquaintance of moſt readers; and I doubt whether the engineer could have found in Europe another plain better ſuited to his purpoſe. But, ſuch is the unaccountable prejudice of the Dutch, this beach, which were it in any part of England would create an extenſive town in its neighborhood, and be yearly the reſort of the gay, the luxurious, the debilitated and infirm, is neglected and avoided by all perſons here. We met on the road to Scheveling three or four carriages with company, and expected to find as many on the ſand; but neither ſeeing equipages, nor any marks of wheels on the beech where we wandered, which was as firm and ſolid as a garden walk, I enquired the cauſe, and learnt that the Dutch have a ſtrong antipathy to the air of the ſea. They equally diſlike

* I could obtain no account of this famous machine, and ſome perſons doubted whether it ever exiſted but in the fertile imagination of the engineer.

the uſe of ſalt-water for a bath, and conſequently there are no machines for that delightful and invigorating exerciſe. This averſion to the ſea air and water is not merely a vulgar prejudice, but obtains the ſupport of their leading phyſicians; and on this account, though moſt delightful houſes of pleaſure might be built on the coaſt, commanding an exquiſite marine proſpect, not a villa or even a hovel is to be ſeen, three or four houſes at Scheveling excepted, which fronts the ocean. The ruddy countenances of the Dutch fiſhermen, and their athletic limbs, might ſeem to afford an irreſiſtible refutation of this idle prejudice; but perſons who have a violent attachment to old opinions, generally overlook facts, and dwell upon theories.

It is dangerous for veſſels to anchor off Scheveling, on account of the expoſed poſition of the coaſt, and the want of ſand-banks to break the force of the ſea; the fiſhermen therefore, when they return from their labours, drag their veſſels on rollers up the beach, beyond the reach of the tide. In this manner on the ſand were upwards of thirty boats,

boats, from twenty to five-and-thirty tons burthen; but one half of them were dismantled, and a number of persons thereby deprived of employment. Our appearance drew a crowd of clamorous beggars about us, chiefly of the fisherman tribe, whose looks and gestures bespoke extreme wretchedness: some endeavoured to excite our compassion by offering for sale a few shells which the sea had cast on the beach, others by loudly proclaiming their wants, and all by sorrowful and dejected countenances.

The ruin of the great fisheries of Holland was the inevitable consequence of a war with Great Britain; but as, by the established usage of nations, in former times, fishermen were permitted, notwithstanding hostilities, to follow unmolested their avocation, for the regular supply of the domestic consumption of their country, I was surprised to find sea-fish scarce, and many boats unemployed. The reason I understood is, that the English government, contrary to its practice in former wars, will not permit the Dutch to fish at a greater distance than five

miles from their own coaſt; which is in reality an uſeleſs indulgence, for the only banks in the North-ſea on which fiſh is to be caught in any quantities are beyond the allowed limits, and therefore if the fiſherman, to follow his trade, goes out ſo far to ſea, he incurs the riſque of being taken; a riſque which few are diſpoſed to hazard, from the number and vigilance of our cruiſers which are on the coaſt of Holland.

In its more auſpicious days, the Hague maintained a troop of French comedians and the performers of the Dutch theatre. It could alſo boaſt of an elegant concert, with good Italian voices, and other amuſements ſuitable to the princely and wealthy inhabitants of a great city. At preſent its public entertainments are reduced to the Dutch theatre, the actors of which, inſtead of being ſtationary at the Hague, perform only twice a week, and on the remaining days exhibit their talents to the citizens of Delft and Rotterdam. We therefore ſaw the ſame troop of actors which on a former occaſion I introduced to your accquaintance, and to our mortification

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we had alſo ſeen the drama which they repreſented. The farce, however, was new to us, and diverting from exceſs of ridiculous abſurdity. It was the production of a Dutch author, and I ſhall ſlightly detail the ſtory to you, not as a ſpecimen of national wit, but of the outrageous fooleries which a Dutch audience can tolerate.

A chimney-ſweeper makes his appearance on the ſtage from a fire-place, and perceiving a fine ſuit of clothes, he ſtrips off his own ſooty garments, and dreſſes himſelf in a laced coat, embroidered waiſtcoat, bag-wig, &c. When he is thus equipped, the ſervants of the houſe enter, and miſtake him for the perſon whoſe dreſs he wears. Imagining him to be my lord, they bring him a variety of refreſhments, which, to the great delight of the audience, he ſwallows with voracious gluttony, making between every mouthful a hideous grimace, and loudly expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the dainties on which he feeds. After the ſervants retire, the maſter of the houſe viſits his gueſt; and alſo miſtaking him for a nobleman, offers him his daughter in marri-

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age with a large fortune. A bargain is concluded, the daughter appears, and the father gives her hand to the metamorphoſed ſweeper. At this critical moment the real lord enters, the cheat is accordingly diſcovered, and the knave in his finery makes his eſcape up the chimney.

The theatre is ſmaller than that at Rotterdam, and the decorations inferior. It was impoſſible to ſee the ſcene, which was dropt between the acts, without ſmiling. It repreſented cupids hovering over the altar of Love. The cupids were chubby Dutch children, formed in nature's homelieſt mould; the graces were round-faced damſels, with flaxen hair, and the goddeſs of love an antidote to that paſſion.

The centre-box, which formerly was appropriated to the uſe of the ſtadtholder, now belongs to the Batavian directory, one of the members of which body, with his family, was at the theatre. Nothing in the appearance or reception of this perſon indicated his rank. He was dreſſed in a plain ſuit of black clothes, and appeared to be about fifty years of

of age. The directorial box has no ornaments to diſtinguiſh it from others, and I ſhould not have known to whom it belonged, had I not ſeen on entering the theatre, a piece of paper paſted on a box-door, on which was writen in an almoſt illegible hand, "*Le logis de directoire Batave*"—The box of the Batavian directory. The theatre was miſerably attended. I am confident I ſpeak within bounds, when I ſay, the whole audience did not amount to one hundred perſons. So trifling a collection of ſpectators at the theatre of a town whoſe population certainly exceeds thirty thouſand inhabitants, either ſhews that the taſte of the people for dramatic exhibitions is feeble, or their poverty extreme. With ſuch receipts, the managers cannot afford to light many candles in their houſe; and, that none may be unneceſſarily conſumed, whenever the muſicians quit the orcheſtra, the lights which enable them to read their ſcores are carefully extinguiſhed until they return. The price of admiſſion to the boxes is rather more than half-a-crown Engliſh money, and to the other

other parts of the theatre in an equitable proportion. The gallery part of the audience, I was informed, was chiefly compoſed of French ſoldiers, whoſe partiality to ſcenic repreſentations was ſo ſtrong, as to bring them to a theatre where a language was ſpoken of which they ſcarcely underſtood a ſingle word.

The Hague has certainly ſuſtained a great diminution of wealth and ſplendour, from the flight of its princes, the diſperſion of its nobles, and the general diſtreſs in which all claſſes of ſociety have been involved. Before the revolution, there were to be ſeen, in almoſt every ſtreet, elegant carriages with valuable horſes, footmen with rich liveries, and all the ſumptuous trappings of poliſhed opulence and refined luxury. But now few carriages are to be ſeen except hackney-coaches, which are of the meaneſt deſcription; and ſervants are prohibited by law from wearing any ornaments on their dreſs which ſhall mark their ſituation in life. The foreign miniſters at the Hague formerly vied with each other in magnificence and expence; but ſince the republic has ceaſed to be an efficient

efficient ſtate among the potentates of Europe, the grandeur, as well as the number, of the corps diplomatique has been greatly diminiſhed. M. Semonville, the French miniſter, lives in a princely ſtyle; but his eſtabliſhment, and that of the Spaniſh embaſſador, are the only ones deſerving of notice.

Before the revolution which precipitated the French directors from their ſeats, and placed Bonaparte at the head of the republic, the Batavian directory ſometime amuſed the public with ſtate pageants in imitation of their Gallic brethren. Since that event, ſuch diſplays of vanity have been rarely indulged in. Some weeks ago there were illluminations and other public rejoicings at the Hague, in commemoration of the anniverſary of the convention laſt year between General Brune and the Duke of York: the directors appeared with little oſtentatious ſtate, and were received with few teſtimonies of popular favour. It is expected, that the change which has taken place in France will ultimately produce an alteration in the Batavian government;

government; therefore the directors wiſely withdraw themſelves, as much as their functions will permit, from public obſervation, and the envy concomitant on exalted rank.

It is the opinion here, both of his friends and enemies, that the ſtadtholder will never be reſtored to the government of the United Provinces; but the former confidently expect that ſome indemnification will be given him for the loſs of his hereditary offices, and the confiſcation of his eſtates. The penſioners of the houſe of Orange, whoſe yearly allowance was earned by the merit of actual ſervices, now receive with regularity their ſalaries from the landed or other poſſeſſions of the prince. This humane and benevolent grant of ſupport, which reſcued a number of deſerving individuals from the ſevere gripe of poverty, did not take place till two or three years after the ſettlement of the new government; but to render this act of magnanimous juſtice complete, each penſioner was paid with intereſt the arrears of his ſalary, and he was not, like other perſons who taſted the bounty of the republic, obliged to take

take an oath of hatred to the ſtadtholder. Delicacy, and a fine ſenſe of religion and honour, would doubtleſs have prevented many perſons from deriving advantage from this national liberality, had conditions been required of them which they could not in conſcience ſubmit; to the compaſſion of the government which provided for their wants, with a tender regard at the ſame time for their ſcruples, cannot therefore be ſufficiently admired and praiſed.

Whatever change takes place in the government of Holland, it muſt firſt receive the approbation of the rulers of France; but it is not probable that any alteration will be attempted, which ſhall aſſimilate the executive adminiſtration of the Batavian to that of the French republic. The conſular government, as it at preſent exiſts in France, is entirely repugnant to the cautious and reſerved genius of the Dutch nation, and would be highly offenſive to the patriotic party. On the diſſolution of the preſent conſtitution of the Batavian republic, which can ſcarcely fail to happen in the courſe of a few

a few years, from its defects and inſufficiency, a government reſembling the ſtates-general, but of a more republican character, will probably be eſtabliſhed under the auſpices of France. Until the reſtoration of peace, however, it is not likely that any alterations of magnitude will be attempted.

Had the ſon of the ſtadtholder ſurvived, who died about two years ago a general in the imperial ſervice, a powerful party would probably have been formed in Holland in his favour, which would have endeavoured, had circumſtances ariſen to promote their deſign, to recal him to his country, and inveſt him with the dignities which his anceſtors enjoyed in the republic. He was a young man of ſingular courage, and engaging manners; his perſon and talents were thought to reſemble thoſe of his great uncle the illuſtrious Frederic of Pruſſia *; and the Dutch beheld

* I uſe the word illuſtrious, not in its common ſenſe, to ſignify eminent for excellence, but to denote a man better known than any king of the ſame name. I think by no means favourably of Frederic either as a man or a monarch, and the reputation which he enjoys is diſgraceful to the diſcernment of the age.

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with partial affection in this prince qualities which reminded him of the heroic actions of Maurice and Frederic-Henry of Naſſau. At the time when the party moſt hoſtile to the houſe of Orange viewed the other branches of his family with hatred or contempt, this prince was the object of their jealouſy and eſteem: they ſaw with pleaſure that the meaſures of the ſtadtholder were calculated to increaſe the popular odium which he had already incurred; and the virtues and ſplendid abilities of his ſon excited their fears, leſt they ſhould revive in the people their ancient attachment to the houſe of Orange. It is ſome proof of the regard with which his memory is cheriſhed, that his picture is exhibited with impunity at moſt of the print-ſhops of the Hague and Rotterdam, while a very ſevere puniſhment would be inflicted on the print-ſeller who ſhould be bold enough to ſell portraits of the ſtadtholder or his ſurviving family; and the moſt violent republicans with whom I have converſed concurred in bearing teſtimony to his character. I ſaw an elegant engraving of him at the

houſe of a gentleman whoſe prejudice would not permit a marigold to blow in his garden.

Had this young man, the hopes of the houſe of Orange, lived, he might have perhaps in time obtained the ſtadtholderate, or ſome honourable eſtabliſhment in the country, where his perſon was beloved, and his abilities admired. But the ſurvivors of his family poſſeſs none of the qualities requiſite to create in their favour a party ſufficiently powerful to overthrow the preſent ſyſtem, and procure their recal. They may indeed recover the territorial eſtates and rights which belong to the houſe of Orange, but they can never hope, with any rational proſpect of ſucceſs, to regain that plenitude of power and extenſive authority which formerly appertained to their family.

The zealous partiſans of the ſtadtholder, whoſe inclinations lead them to extol with rapture every ſhadow which promiſes to favour their cauſe, flatter themſelves with the hope, that whenever a general peace is made, the King of Pruſſia, who according to their notions

notions holds in his hands the balance of Europe, and can reſtore or dethrone, will attend to the intereſts of his kinſman, and oblige the French and Batavian republics to reinſtate him in his offices. This opinion is ſo wild and baſeleſs, that I ſhould miſemploy my time were I elaborately to combat it.

Since the year 1787, when the arms of Pruſſia overran Holland, and cruſhed the party which oppoſed the ſtadtholder, the character and views of the court of Berlin have been regarded with much attention and anxiety by the Dutch. The patriots, and all true Hollanders in whoſe boſoms glowed one ſpark of remembrance of the ancient feats of their countrymen, beheld with indignation a power which had ariſen in Europe within the century, giving laws to, and impoſing a maſter on the republic. Since that period, as their intereſts or partialities have inclined them, Pruſſia has been viewed by the Dutch with jealouſy, fear, or hope. The character of the preſent King of Pruſſia excites no alarms in the patriots, and conſe-

quently furniſhes little hope, that he will eſpouſe their cauſe, to the ſtadtholderian party. He is ſaid to inherit the talents which have diſtinguiſhed the houſe of Brandenburg for a century and a half, without much of that dangerous paſſion for military glory which ſignaliſed the reigns of ſome of his predeceſſors. His miniſters differ in their principles and views from thoſe whom his father employed, and he himſelf is indefatigable in his attention to the cares of government. His chief ambition is to continue to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace, and to promote in his dominions agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. He poſſeſſes the hereditary diſlike of his family to the houſe of Auſtria, and is thought to entertain ſentiments unfavourable to Great Britain, on account of her intimate connection with that power. When the Engliſh and Ruſſian troops invaded Holland, large offers, amounting to a diſmemberment of the United Provinces in his favour, as a reward for his ſervices, were made him, if he would aſſiſt to expel the French from the territories of the republic.

republic. Had he joined to the Anglo-Ruſſian forces an army equal to that which his father ſent into Holland in 1787, or made a diverſion in favour of the invaders, the French muſt have been driven out of the republic, and the Batavians ſubdued. But he maintained the moſt cautious neutrality, and thereby loſt the beſt opportunity probably which will ever occur, of reinſtating his relatives * in their poſſeſſions.—In private life he is regular and economical, having neither miſtreſſes nor favourites to diſſipate his treaſures; and though his reign has yet been undiſtinguiſhed by any ſplendid actions, no monarch that ever ſat on the throne of Pruſſia was more reſpected and beloved by his ſubjects than Frederic-William III. From this prince it is apparent that the friends of the ſtadtholder have not much to expect. The preſent government of Holland is fully recogniſed by the court of Berlin, and a

* The Princeſs of Orange is his aunt, and the hereditary prince his brother-in-law.

Pruſſian miniſter reſides at the Hague. The little trade which remains to the republic is chiefly carried on under the protection of the Pruſſian flag, and commercial conſuls of that nation are eſtabliſhed at every conſiderable port.—As I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at large hereafter on the preſent ſtate of the commerce of Holland, I ſhall now return to what is ſtrictly connected with the Hague.

During that bright period of French literature, when the writings of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Rouſſeau, &c. were eagerly ſought after by the learned and curious of Europe, the bookſellers at the Hague and Amſterdam with great ſpirit multiplied the editions of theſe authors, and carried on a lucrative trade with their works, in all parts where they have been permitted to vend them. Of late, however, not a ſingle book above the ſize of a pamphlet has appeared from the Hague preſs, and the bookſellers venture on few of the coſtly publications which have lately been printed at Paris.

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The decay of this trade, the only one of conſequence which was ever carried on at the Hague, ariſes more from the cauſes which have involved in ruin the commerce of the United Provinces, than from the circumſtance that France has not of late years produced literary works of much reputation. At the principal ſhop in the Hague, that of Du Four, who is alſo a bookſeller at Amſterdam, I ſaw a catalogue of recent French publications, and ſome of them I was deſirous to purchaſe, but they could not furniſh me with a ſingle book which I wanted: thoſe with which chiefly they were ſupplied, were the voyages of French navigators, and ſome novels tranſlated from the Engliſh, amongſt which I recogniſed, with ſincere pleaſure, in a new garb, the productions of ſome valuable and eſteemed friends.

The extinction of the literary traffic of the Hague is ſcarcely felt, and little lamented by any perſons except thoſe immediately concerned in it. But the want of the court, and of the opulent ſtrangers which it attracted

to this place, is ſeverely felt by numbers. Before the revolution, the Hague not only contained its own princes of the houſe of Orange, but ſeveral petty princes of the German empire, who ſpent here the revenues which accrued to them from their territories. Theſe perſonages are all fled, and the ſame frugality and ſimplicity of manners begin to prevail at the Hague, which diſtinguiſh other parts of Holland, to the utter ruin of all thoſe whoſe livelihood depended on the ſuperfluous wants of the great. As the ſeat of the executive government, and of the repreſentative bodies, the Hague enjoys advantages which other towns of the republic do not poſſeſs; but theſe advantages are vaſtly inferior to the benefits which it derived from the ſtadtholder and his court, and moſt perſons, even republicans, ſorrowfully complain of its ſtriking and rapid decay. Reſpectable families, which before the arrival of the French lived in elegant houſes cheerfully ſituated, now retire to lodgings, or inhabit narrow, uncomfortable ſtreets where houſe-

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rent is cheap, and the abodes which they have quitted are generally without tenants.

We viſited, in an obſcure ſtreet, a widow lady of an advanced age, whoſe fortune the revolution had dreadfully impaired. She remembered the Hague in its happieſt days, and dilated on the magnificence and ſplendour ſhe had formerly witneſſed and enjoyed. Her huſband had been tutor to the Prince of Orange, of whom ſhe ſpoke in terms of almoſt idolatrous admiration; and therefore her partialities probably led her to exaggerate the former affluent and gay, the preſent decayed and impoveriſhed, ſtate of the Hague. But it is a general complaint that this beautiful place has ſuffered much by the revolution, and few believe that it will ever recover its priſtine grandeur.

The French troops which are quartered in the Hague amount to about twelve hundred men; and are under the command of General Victor, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly at the battle of Marengo. General Victor is commander in chief of the French forces in the ſervice of the Batavian republic, and

and is out of compariſon more reſpected than his predeceſſor, notwithſtanding the important ſervices which General Brune rendered to the republic. The French troops, which do not exceed at preſent eight thouſand men, receive their pay from, and are wholly maintained by, the Batavian government. The pay of a French ſoldier is difficult to aſcertain, becauſe it varies according to circumſtances, the nature of the ſervice on which he is employed, the quarters he inhabits, and the proviſions with which he is ſupplied; but the average of his daily pay is from ſix pence to ten pence. The delicacy of the ſubject prevented me from enquiring, of the perſons beſt able to give me information, what pay is allowed to the ſuperior officers; but I learnt with conſiderable ſurpriſe from an officer of high rank, that the third military ſtation in the republic produces only a revenue of ſix hundred florins a month to the perſon who holds it*, and yet is accounted a very deſirable command†. Eco-

* About fifty pounds Engliſh money.

† Un très beau commandement.

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nomy was always a prevailing feature of the Dutch government, and the recent calamities which have fallen ſo heavy on the ſtate, have probably cauſed a more than ordinarily vigilant attention to be paid to the diſburſements of the public purſe.

LETTER VIII.

Departure from the Hague.—Deſcription of a treckſchuyt.—Cuſtom of ſmoking in Holland.—Exchange between London and Rotterdam.—Depreciation of the notes of the Bank of England.—Forgeries.—Delft.—Decay of its potteries.—Treatment of the ſick and wounded of the Britiſh army in 1795 *by the burgers of Delft.—Breweries.—Politeneſs of a French ſoldier.—Leyden.—Dutch houſes.—Streets of Leyden.—Stadthouſe.—Pictures.—Vigorous defence of the inhabitants of Leyden againſt the Spaniards in* 1573.*—Noble ſentiments of a burgomaſter.—Univerſity of Leyden.—Number of ſtudents.*

Leyden, November, 1800.

UNDER the impreſſion that we ſhould never viſit it again, and delighted with its beauties, we quitted the Hague with feelings of regret. None of the expectations raiſed

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in our minds by the report of the magnificence of that charming village had been disappointed, and we had derived unlooked-for pleasure and advantage, from agreeable society and curious information.

The disasters of our former voyage did not intimidate us from again embarking in a treckschuyt; and I shall now describe to you a mode of travelling which has three excellent qualities to recommend it—cheapness, regularity, and security. I say security, for such storms as that to the violence of which we were exposed, do not perhaps occur above once in a century, and unless it blows a hurricane there is no danger to be apprehended in these boats. A treckschuyt is a covered barge, divided into two apartments; the after one, called the roof, which is superior in point of accommodations, contains from eight to a dozen persons, and the other from forty to fifty, according to the size of the boat. This vessel is drawn by a single horse, and moves so precisely at the rate of four miles an hour, that people in Holland universally compute the distance from place to

place

place by the time which the paſſage occupies, not by miles as in England. The price for a ſeat in the roof, or cabin, is about three pence an hour; and, if it is not crowded with paſſengers, ſcarcely any mode of travelling can be more agreeable, unleſs expedition is required. In this apartment there are generally four windows, a table in the middle, with ſeats on each ſide of it covered with handſome cuſhions; and, according to the fancy of the ſkipper, or maſter, of the boat, this little cabin is otherwiſe ornamented with pictures or looking-glaſſes. The motion of a treckſchuyt is ſo ſteady, that a perſon may read or write at his eaſe; or from the windows he can enjoy a pleaſant proſpect of the country, of numerous villages and ſeats which ſkirt the canals, or of veſſels for the purpoſes of pleaſure or buſineſs, which are conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing. Treckſchuyts are the ſtage-coaches of Holland: they depart every hour, in various directions, from moſt of the conſiderable towns of the republic; and arriving at the appointed time at the place of their deſtination, paſſengers who wiſh to proceed

ceed further find boats ready to ſet out immediately. By means of theſe uſeful veſſels, an eaſy intercourſe exiſts between the moſt diſtant parts of the republic, and the cheapneſs of the conveyance allows its benefits to be felt by the pooreſt people. To a Dutchman, a treckſchuyt is the moſt agreeable conveyance imaginable. He ſmokes in it or ſleeps in it, as his inclination leads him; and is neither ſhook by the agitation of the veſſel, nor diſturbed by the velocity of its motion. He knows to the eighth part of a penny the ſum which his journey will coſt him, and he can calculate with equal accuracy the moment when he ſhall arrive at the end of it. If his journey is long, he either carries with him a little ſtore of proviſions, or purchaſes a frugal dinner at the place where the boat uſually ſtops for a few minutes at the hour of that meal. He does not then go on ſhore to eat his dinner, but a ſteak is expeditiouſly brought to him, with ſuch other refreſhments as the houſe affords, or he chooſes to have; and when that matter is arranged, which never occupies more than five minutes, the

treckſchuyt

treckſchuyt immediately proceeds. Some of theſe advantages may be enjoyed in common by an Engliſhman, but he is occaſionally expoſed to diagreeable circumſtances in theſe veſſels, which detract much from their advantages.

We left the Hague at three in the afternoon for Delft, having previouſly, which is a neceſſary precaution, taken places in the roof of the treckſchuyt. Two ladies and a gentleman were our fellow paſſengers to that place, where we quitted the boat to walk through the town to a canal from whence a treckſchuyt was ready to ſet off for Rotterdam.

The cabin of this boat, to our extreme mortification, was ſo crowded, that we could not obtain ſeats in it, and therefore we were obliged to take our places with the common paſſengers. It was now dark, and one miſerable candle only illuminated a long apartment, which contained five-and-twenty or thirty people. On our departure, all the windows of this place were ſhut, to exclude the air, except that, near which we ſat, which

was

was permitted to remain open, though not without violent oppoſition, out of courteſy to us ſtrangers, who particularly requeſted it ſhould. The heat ariſing from the chauffe-pies, or foot-ſtoves, of the women, the tobacco-pipes of the men, and the air vitiated by the reſpiration of ſo many human beings, was intolerable.

The cuſtom of ſmoking is ſo prevalent in Holland, that a genuine Dutch boor, inſtead of deſcribing the diſtances of places by miles or hours, ſays they are ſo many pipes aſunder. Thus a man may reach Delft from Rotterdam in four pipes; but if he goes on to the Hague, the journey will coſt him ſeven. Of our fellow-paſſengers, fifteen at leaſt were reſolute ſmokers. Shall I deſcribe the effects produced on us by the fuliginous vapours of ſo many pipes, or by the ſaliva they cauſed, which almoſt covered the floor of the cabin? No! No! It is ſufficient to ſay we arrived at Rotterdam, with aching heads, and diſeaſed ſtomachs. A treckſchuyt is nevertheleſs an excellent conveyance.

The buſineſs which called us to Rotterdam

was to procure caſh for bills on London. I was readily accommodated by two gentlemen, to whoſe politeneſs and attention I am otherwiſe much indebted. The exchange between Rotterdam and London on bills payable three days after ſight, is at the difference of the enormous ſum of twelve per cent in favour of the former city. This difference is not ſo much cauſed by the balance of trade, which is to the advantage of Rotterdam, as by the ideas which prevail on the continent of the financial embarraſſments of the Britiſh nation, and the depreciation which the notes of the Bank of England have undergone, ſince that body has ceaſed to iſſue caſh for their paper. Could I have given bills on Hamburgh, I could have had caſh for them almoſt at par; or could I have engaged that my drafts ſhould be paid in London with ſpecie, the difference in the exchange would have been conſiderably leſs. It is the opinion of very intelligent merchants at Rotterdam, that whenever peace is reſtored to Europe, ſhould the bank of England not reſume paying its notes in caſh, the

exchange

exchange with London will be ſtill more unfavourable to that city, for then in every commercial ſenſe the bank muſt be accounted inſolvent, and its paper of no more value than French aſſignats. One cauſe which tends to depreciate the notes of the bank of England on the continent is, the great quantities of forged ones which are circulated in the north of Germany, the Netherlands, Brabant, and Holland, and the immenſe loſſes which the merchants have thereby ſuſtained. Theſe notes are principally of the denomination of five or ten pounds, and ſkilfully executed. The engraving of the forged notes is ſaid to be neater than that of the real ones, and the ink of a brighter black. But on the whole the imperfections of the genuine notes are well imitated. I could gain no information where theſe forgeries are ſuppoſed to be fabricated, and I will not hazard any conjectures of my own. The jews are charged with uſhering them into circulation, but this accuſation, like many other calumnies which have been

invented againſt this deſpiſed race, is probably devoid of foundation.

We travelled from Rotterdam to this city by the canals, without any of the diſagreeable circumſtances which attended our former excurſions by water. The weather was pleaſant; we had ſeats in the roof of the treckſchuyt, and the company were polite and agreeable. As we had hitherto had but an imperfect view of Delft, we ſtaid ſome time in that city to ſurvey its buildings and curioſities.

Delft is a neat, well built town, abounding, like all places in Holland, with canals, bridges, and trees*. In the new church is ſhewn a monument of indifferent execution, which was erected by the ſtates-general in honour of William I. Prince of Orange, who was aſſaſſinated here by an emiſſary of

* Delft is the birth-place of Hugo Grotius, and its inhabitants are reproached that they have not erected a ſtatue in honour of their fellow-citizen, as the burghers of Rotterdam have done to the memory of Eraſmus.

Philip

Philip II. in 1584: and there are alſo monuments to the memory of Prince Maurice and Frederic-Henry. Delft was formerly famous for its manufactures of earthen-ware, which rivalled the porcelain of China, and was generally ſought after and eſteemed throughout Europe, for its elegance and beauty. At preſent ſcarcely five hundred perſons are employed in the potteries of this place, which in their moſt flouriſhing days gave ſubſiſtence to upwards of ten thouſand labourers. The ſame jealouſy, however, towards ſtrangers is ſtill obſerved here; and unleſs a traveller is well recommended, he cannot obtain a ſight of their manufactures. The decay of this branch of commerce doubtleſs ariſes in part from the ſame cauſes which have enfeebled the republic, as the diſſenſions of domeſtic parties, the expenſive wars in which the ſtate has been involved, and the dreadful termination of its hoſtilities with France; but the more prominent cauſes of this aſtoniſhing decay are, the immenſe quantities of porcelain which for a century and a half have been imported into Europe

from China, and the rival manufactures which in that time have been eſtabliſhed in Germany and England. The earthen-ware of Staffordſhire was ſome years ago ſo much approved of in Holland, that the ſtates-general, in order to protect the manufacturers of Delft from abſolute ruin, were obliged to lay duties on its importation into the republic, which were ſo ſevere as to amount almoſt to an entire prohibition.

It is perhaps becauſe they have rivalled and ſurpaſſed them in their ſtaple manufacture, that the citizens of Delft bear a rooted animoſity to the natives of Great Britain. In an inclement ſeaſon of the year, the brave ſick and wounded of the Britiſh army, which defended Holland, were refuſed admiſſion into this town, where they thought to find ſuccour and relief *; their wounds and diſ-

* Before the revolution, every conſiderable town in the republic was poſſeſſed to a certain degree of an independent juriſdiction, by means of which it could refuſe the admiſſion of foreign troops into it, unleſs the orders of the ſtates-general were peremptory to the contrary effect. The diſlike of the city of Delft to the Engliſh was ſlightly alluded to in letter the ſixth.

eaſes

caſes procured them no pity, though their blood had been ſhed, and their health waſted (but ineffectually), for the preſervation of the republic. The gates of the place were ſhut againſt them, and the armed burghers of the town harſhly repulſed the miſerable wretches, who ſolicited ſhelter, warmth, and food. Theſe unhappy beings were expoſed, with their ſores and diſeaſes, to the aggravated evils of hunger and cold, experiencing at the hand of their allies a treatment more ſevere, than would have been their lot had they fallen into the power of the enemy.

Delft is famous in Holland for its beer breweries, as well as for its manufactures of porcelain; and I muſt acknowledge that London porter is imitated with tolerable ſucceſs. If, however, it is drank out of the caſk it is very inferior, but after it has been in bottles ſome time its taſte is nearly as agreeable as London bottled porter, from which it is difficult to diſtinguiſh it.

I ſhould not mention that we were detained about half an hour, in a mean cabaret, on the canal which leads to Leyden, waiting

for the departure of the treckſchuyt, but to relate an incident which happened to us. The turf-fire of the room in which we ſat was ſo ſurrounded by Dutch ſoldiers, ſmoking and drinking gin, that neither of us received any heat from it; and though the evening was cold, they kept their places with frigid unconcern. We had not been ſeated long before a French ſoldier came into the apartment, and feeling for our uncomfortable ſituation, he immediately inſiſted that the Dutch ſhould make room for us near the fire. This the boors reluctantly complied with, and our obliging Frenchman ſeated himſelf beſide us: drinking a glaſs of Bourdeaux wine, which perhaps he ordered for the occaſion, he ſaid, with a politeneſs and gallantry which certainly belonged to the old ſchool, moving at the ſame time his hat with a very ariſtocratical grace, "Madame et monſieur, tout ce qui vous puis faire plaiſir *;" and when the boat was ready to

* Sir, madam, I wiſh you every thing that can give you pleaſure.

ſet

ſet off, he eſcorted us to it, and cordially wiſhed us a good voyage.

Leyden is the ſecond city in magnitude of the United Provinces, and inferior to none in the ſpaciouſneſs and elegance of its buildings, the utility of its public inſtitutions, and the agreeable manners of its inhabitants. It is ſituated on the ancient bed of the Rhine, the diminiſhed waters of which river fill an inconſiderable canal that bears its name, and at a very ſhort diſtance from the city, mingling with larger ſtreams, it is no longer known by its claſſical appellation. The houſes of Leyden are built with their gable ends to the ſtreets, in the old Dutch taſte; which is infinitely more pleaſant to the ſight in a town where every thing elſe is Dutch, than clumſy attempts at Grecian or Italian architecture. A Dutch houſe in the old ſtyle of building is generally ſix ſtories high, the three firſt of which are of an equal breadth, but of unequal heights; from the third ſtory the roof riſes to a point, and the rooms of this part of the houſe neceſſarily diminiſh in ſize as they approach to the

the apex of the building. The front wall of the upper apartments projects ſo from the roof as nearly to hide it, unleſs viewed in profile; and the exterior of each room diminiſhes till that of the attic ſtory is two-thirds leſs than the baſement. To the aperture of the upper room, which is cloſed with a wood ſhutter, is commonly fixed a ſmall crane, for the purpoſe of hoiſting up wood and turf; and theſe cranes ſometimes have groteſque heads carved upon them. The windows and doors of moſt houſes are painted green, and the brick-work often white or black, where there are projections or diverſity of maſonry.

The principal ſtreets of Leyden are broad, long, and well paved, riſing in the middle, ſo that no water can remain upon them, and the ſame rigid cleanlineſs prevails here as in other parts of Holland. The ſtreet in which the ſtadthouſe is placed, is accounted by the inhabitants of this city one of the fineſt in Europe. It extends, with an inconſiderable curve, from one extremity of Leyden to the other, and is about two miles in length.

length. All the houſes in it are elegant and neat; and beſide the ſtadthouſe, which is a magnificent building, it is ornamented with an hoſpital of fine appearance and great extent, and other public erections.

In the halls of the ſtadthouſe are preſerved ſome good pictures, which are well deſerving the notice of a traveller. The principal one repreſenting the Laſt Judgment, is a picture of great antiquity, painted on wood by Lucas Van Leyden. It is divided into three compartments, which fold by means of hinges together, and ſo protect the piece from the injuries of the air. The contraſt between the angels and devils, the joy of the bleſſed, and the deſpair of the damned, is ſkilfully managed. But the picture to which your attention is peculiarly called by the perſon who conducts you over the ſtadthouſe, deſcribes a ſtory of great intereſt in the annals of this city. It repreſents the famiſhed inhabitants of Leyden, after they had by their valour and conſtancy obliged the Spaniards to raiſe the ſiege of their town, eagerly devouring the relief which was brought them by their countrymen.

The

The memory of this ſiege is ſtill preſerved by the citizens of Leyden, with annual rejoicings and feſtivities; and once in ſeven years a kind of jubilee is held in honour of that great event. In conſequence of the gallant defence made by its inhabitants, and the dreadful miſeries which they ſuffered, the ſtates-general, to reward their bravery and patience, founded in Leyden the noble univerſity which has ſince reflected ſo much honour on that city, and been attended with important benefits to philoſophy and ſcience.

In 1573, the Spaniards, flushed with the conqueſt of Haarlem, laid ſiege to Alkmaer; but finding the place too ſtrong for their forces, they turned their arms againſt Leyden. The approach of Prince Frederic of Naſſau, with a conſiderable body of men, drove them for a ſhort time from their trenches; but having procured re-inforcements, they returned, and, according to the practice of the age, being apprehenſive they ſhould not be able to take the city by force, they turned the ſiege into a blockade. The

Spaniſh

Spaniſh general, Frederic of Toledo, ſon of the Duke of Alva, repulſed a body of Engliſh auxiliaries which were coming to the relief of the beſieged, and otherwiſe ſo vigilantly conducted the blockade, that the inhabitants of Leyden were reduced by famine to the moſt deplorable diſtreſs. Diſheartened by their miſerable ſituation, and hopeleſs of relief, the burghers of the town aſſembled in great numbers about the houſe of Peter Adrian de Werf, a man of much influence and authority in the place, and loudly and mutinouſly exclaimed, that the town muſt ſurrender, or its inhabitants would periſh of hunger. But this man, who poſſeſſed the firmneſs of Cato, and preferred to die rather than ſee his country under the dominion of a tyrant, expoſtulated with the mob, and ſaid, "It is indifferent to me, whether I periſh by means of the enemy, or the hands of my fellow-citizens. Kill me then, if you have the courage, and appeaſe your hunger with my miſerable carcaſe." The firmneſs of Adrian inſpired his fellow-citizens with patience

tience and reſolution; they returned to their duties with cheerfulneſs, and endured the moſt preſſing extremities of famine with heroic fortitude. When every article of ſubſiſtence was conſumed, the bodies of the dead furniſhed a horrid food for the ſupport of the living, and ſtill the citizens of Leyden defended with invincible reſolution their town. At length the Dutch confederates, having no other means of relieving their diſtreſſed countrymen, broke down the dykes of the Maeſe and the Yſſel, and inundated the Spaniſh camp, and the beautiful country which ſurrounds Leyden. This deſperate meaſure obliged the Spaniſh general to evacuate his camp; and the beſieged town, after having ſuffered the moſt terrible diſtreſs, was relieved. This ſiege, which commenced ſhortly after Eaſter, was raiſed the third of October, and the ſame day a ſupply of proviſions was brought to the famiſhed inhabitants of the place, who for upwards of five months had ſuffered unſpeakable diſtreſs.

The univerſity of Leyden, which is the moſt

moſt ancient in the United Provinces, and has enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of reputation, was founded the year following this dreadful ſiege, by the ſtates-general and Prince William of Orange, to reward the citizens for the unparalleled bravery and conſtancy with which they defended their town. This inſtitution has had the good fortune to number among its profeſſors and ſcholars ſome of the moſt learned men and excellent phyſicians that Europe has produced. In its infancy, the younger Scaliger, Heinſius, and Salmaſius, proſecuted the ſtudy of the ancient languages in this univerſity, with a ſucceſs which has not ſince been ſurpaſſed; and after their times, Boerhaave, in the phyſical chair, filled Leyden with medical ſtudents from all parts of Europe. To mention all the great ſcholars and phyſicians whom this univerſity has produced would be a laborious employment. There is perhaps no ſcience which the profeſſors of Leyden have not eminently contributed to illuſtrate, no branch of polite literature in which they have not excelled.

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The preſent profeſſors in the univerſity of Leyden are perſons of reſpectable talents and merit; but I am prevented from gaining all the information reſpecting the univerſity which I hoped to obtain, by the unfortunate abſence of the gentleman to whom we had letters of recommendation. The ſchools of Leyden have ſuffered in the general calamities which have befallen the republic; and the number of ſtudents in the univerſity, particularly of foreigners, is greatly reduced. The names of ſtudents at preſent on the books of the univerſity do not exceed a hundred and fifty, and of theſe how many enrol themſelves on the academical liſts from no very laudable motives, it is difficult to aſcertain. What I allude to is this: ſince the eſtabliſhment of liberty and equality in the United Provinces, every perſon eligible to the militia is obliged actually to ſerve in the corps of the diſtrict to which he belongs; whereas before the revolution, ſuch as could afford to furniſh a ſubſtitute were exempt from perſonal ſervice. The ingenuous youth, who attend the univerſities of the republic

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to purſue their ſtudies, are free from this dangerous and diſagreeable ſervice, and therefore many enter themſelves as ſtudents with no other view than that they may enjoy this privilege. This claſs of ſtudents I am inclined to believe is more numerous than that of the youth who attend the univerſity according to the ſpirit of the inſtitution.

LETTER IX.

The botanic garden.—Palm-tree.—Antiques.—Theatre of anatomy.—Public library.—Portraits of illuſtrious Dutchmen.—Medallions of Engliſh republicans.—St. Peter's church, a place of confinement for the Engliſh and Ruſſian priſoners.—The gazette of Leyden.—Dutch newſpapers.—Woollen manufactures of Leyden. Probable ſtate of the univerſity when peace ſhall be reſtored.

Leyden, November, 1800.

THE botanic garden of Leyden, which belongs to the univerſity, has enjoyed for a century and a half a diſtinguiſhed reputation throughout Europe. It occupies about four acres of ground, and is in excellent order. Many of the trees and plants (thoſe probably which are the rareſt), have ſcrolls of parchment attached to them, on which is written, for the uſe of ſtudents, a deſcription

tion of them according to the Linnean ſyſtem. The gardener ſhewed us a palm-tree which was in exiſtence when the Spaniards were maſters of the United Provinces; and this afforded him an opportunity, which no citizen of Leyden ever loſes, of deſcanting on the courage, conſtancy, and ſufferings, of the old inhabitants of the town.

In the garden is an apartment for the reception of ſtatues, altars, and other antiques, which were preſented to the univerſity by a burgomaſter of the town. Many of the ſtatues are conſiderably mutilated. Of thoſe which are in a tolerable ſtate of preſervation, a bacchus and a bacchinal, Servilius, a full figure of a Roman conſul, and the buſts of Nero and Agrippina, were the beſt.

From this apartment, the ſtranger is conducted into another, which contains a ſmall collection of natural hiſtory. The birds and beaſts of this collection, and particularly the latter, which have not the advantage of being kept in glaſs frames, are ſo wretchedly preſerved, that it is impoſſible for a perſon

unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſights, to look upon them without extreme diſguſt. Half the face of the Hippopotamus, which holds a conſpicuous place among theſe rarities, is conſumed or disfigured by the animalculæ which it has produced; and ſimilar depredations have been committed to a greater extent on moſt of the quadrupeds in the collection. The ſpecimens of the mineral kingdom, which are numerous and elegant, are well arranged in this apartment in handſome mahogany caſes, and to the moſt remarkable of them is affixed a technical deſcription.

We ſaw both theſe halls and their contents to great diſadvantage, for a number of carpenters were at work in them, making alterations and improvements; and, conſequently, the ſtatues, beaſts, &c. were in diſorder and confuſion. When the improvements are finiſhed, which are to a laudable extent, and will be attended with a conſiderable expence, the collection of natural hiſtory and antiques will appear to much more advantage than they at preſent do, and particularly if proper pains be taken to clean

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the animals, and ſupply the parts of them which have been deſtroyed or disfigured through want of care. But whatever embelliſhments the liberality of the univerſity may beſtow on this collection, it will be found far inferior to the rare aſſemblage of curioſities which was formed by the zeal, induſtry, and taſte, of a private individual of our own times and nation *.

At a ſhort diſtance from the botanic garden, is the theatre of anatomy, which has ſupplied the world with ſo many excellent phyſicians. It contains a numerous and valuable collection of ſubjects relative to anatomy and pathology, and the whole is arranged with admirable neatneſs and care. The aſſemblage of *luſus naturæ* in this theatre is extremely curious, and abounds in

* Sir Aſhton Lever. The muſeum which bears the name of this gentleman is an honour to the Engliſh nation. It is perhaps the beſt collection of natural hiſtory in Europe; and is equally to be praiſed for the variety of its articles, the excellence of their preſervation, and the judgment with which they are arranged.

every imaginable ſpecies of deformity. A child with two heads, the unhappy offspring of a peaſant's wife in Frieſland, who ſurvived this monſtrous delivery many years, claims particular attention. I have ſeen a conception of a ſimilar kind, in the anatomical preparations of Mr. Ingham of Newcaſtle in Northumberland, a gentleman of great erudition and ſcience, whoſe profeſſional character and extenſive medical knowledge are above any eulogium of mine. The mention of this perſon recals to my mind his ſon, whoſe premature death, about a twelvemonth ago, excited univerſal regret. He was a youth of moſt promiſing talents, and uncommon goodneſs of heart. To a powerful and ready genius, he united unwearied application in the purſuit of knowledge; qualities for which minds of ſingular vigour are rarely diſtinguiſhed: and perhaps his early loſs to ſociety, which he was ſo admirably fitted to adorn and improve, may in a great meaſure be attributed to that indefatigable diligence which, enlarging the mind, diſables

diſables the body from reſiſting the attacks of diſeaſe.

The public library of Leyden is chiefly celebrated for the ſtores of oriental literature which it contains. Joſeph Scaliger bequeathed to it a valuable collection of Hebrew books; and Golius, who filled for many years with great reputation the Arabic profeſſorſhip of the univerſity, enriched it with the rare Perſian, Chaldee, Arabic, Turkiſh, and other manuſcripts, which he brought with him from the eaſt. The manuſcripts which repoſe in this library amount to eight thouſand, and form its principal treaſures. The heavy volumes of controverſial divinity, which crowd the ſhelves, far exceed the proportion which they contain of elegant and valuable literature. But theſe dull remains of a bigotted and unenlightened age do not appear to be much looked into, and the good ſenſe of the approaching century may perhaps diſpoſſeſs them of the places which they ſo unworthily fill. Among the publications of a recent date, I ſaw the hiſtories of Hume, Robertſon, and Gibbon, and the

Tranſactions of the Royal and Antiquarian ſocieties of London; but no Engliſh books ſince the commencement of the preſent war with Holland. The laſt addition to the library, were ſome magnificent folios, deſcribing the antiquities of Herculaneum, which were a preſent from the king of Spain. The books are principally bound in parchment, which is extremely white and pleaſing to the eye; and they are moſtly gilded and ornamented with much elegance and taſte, the decorations being ſuitable to the ſubject of the book.

The library contains ſome good portraits of eminent Dutchmen: of Eraſmus, at various periods of his life; of Grotius; and Janus Douſe, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally in arms and letters. During the ſiege of Leyden he was one of its braveſt defenders, and his conduct on that occaſion was ſo highly approved of by the Prince of Orange, that the government of the city was afterwards entruſted to his care. A portrait of Daniel Heinſius, and a miniature of Sir Thomas More, by Hans Holbein, whoſe patronage

patronage of Eraſmus probably procured his head the honour of a place among the Dutch *ſavans*, are deſerving of peculiar ſpecification. But the moſt ſtriking portrait is that of Hugo Donellus, which was painted after death. The clay-cold paleneſs of the countenance, and that expreſſion which the agonies of death have given to the features, are moſt exquiſitely deſcribed. It is painted on wood, and in excellent preſervation. I am ſeriouſly mortified that I could not learn the name of the artiſt.

There are alſo in the library, carved in ivory to reſemble medallions, the likeneſſes of ſome Engliſhmen diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to civil and religious liberty, as Wickliff, Harrington, Milton, Marvel, Ludlow, &c. They were executed, I underſtood, by an Engliſh refugee, who took ſhelter in Holland from the cruelties of James II. after the failure of the Duke of Monmouth's unhappy expedition, in which he bore a ſhare, and continued to reſide at Leyden till his death. The carvings

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are neat, and certainly no diſgrace to the library.

The church of St. Peter, the principal one in Leyden, is a large heavy building, in the Gothic ſtyle of architecture. Like other Dutch churches, it is without pews, and the congregation are ſeated on chairs. It is heated by two or more large ſtoves, and we found its warmth very agreeable; but, notwithſtanding, the Dutch ladies invariably uſe chauffepies. Near the pulpit is an half-hour glaſs, which the preacher turns when he begins his ſermon, and the congregation are ſatisfied (probably with reaſon) if his diſcourſe laſt no longer than till the ſand is run out.

In this church were confined the Engliſh and Ruſſian ſoldiers which were taken priſoners laſt year at Alkmaer. The Ruſſians were impreſſed with the belief that they were preſerved from immediate ſlaughter, to be guillotined or hanged, and perceiving three large braſs chandeliers, ſuſpended by chains from the roof of this church, they imagined a Ruſſian

a Ruſſian ſoldier was to be hung from each branch of the chandeliers. Their joy was extravagant when they found their fears were ill founded, and they embraced their French and Dutch guards as ſaviours and protectors. It added to their happineſs, that they were well fed, comfortably ſheltered from the inclemencies of the weather, and abundantly furniſhed with ſtraw for beds. The church of Leyden, both in point of accommodations and proviſions, was probably a palace compared with any dwelling which they had hitherto inhabited, and the men whom they regarded as their deadly and ſanguinary enemy, they found to be generous and hoſpitable friends.

In later times, the Gazette of Leyden bore that kind of reputation in England which formerly was attached to the Bruſſels Gazette, with this difference, that the Leyden paper leaned with unwarrantable partiality to the politics of the ſtadtholder and Great Britain, while that of Bruſſels favoured their enemies, and therefore was received in England with almoſt

almoſt unlimited favour and belief. When the conqueſt of the republic became inevitable, the editors and proprietors of this journal, who had rendered themſelves thoroughly obnoxious to the French and the republican party, by their daily abuſe of the revolution and their entire devotion to the ſtadtholder, quitted Leyden with precipitation. Since that period the gazette of Leyden has been conducted by men of diametrically oppoſite opinions and partialities, and it now breathes a ſpirit of hoſtility to Great Britain as implacable as that of any paper which is publiſhed within the territories of the Batavian republic. I ſhould not omit to mention that to every Dutch newſpaper, as well as to all the proclamations and ordinances of the Batavian directory, the words *vreyheid*, *gelykberd*, and *broderſchap* liberty, equality, and fraternity, are prefixed. They pay an inconſiderable duty to the ſtate, and do not much exceed one fourth of the price of an Engliſh newſpaper.

In the centre of Leyden is a tumulus, or

fort,

fort, ſaid to have been built by Hengiſt the Saxon prince, which is elevated above the tops of the higheſt houſes, and commands an extenſive view over the town. The top is ſurrounded by a wall, on which ſmall pieces of cannon might be mounted, and contains, in a circle of about 150 paces, a labyrinth of trees, a baſon of water, and benches and tables for the accommodation of viſitors. In fine weather the citizens of Leyden reſort to this place to drink tea, and ſmoke their pipes. The aſcent to it is by an eaſy flight of ſteps, and at convenient diſtances there are ſeats to reſt the weary. I have never ſeen a more agreeable place of recreation in the centre of a large and populous city. Thoſe who frequent it, breathe on its top a wholeſome and elaſtic air, and enjoy a fine proſpect of the ſea, the lake of Haarlem, the city of Leyden, and the ſurrounding meadows.

Leyden formerly vied with Amſterdam and the Hague, for the number of valuable publications in modern literature which iſſued from its preſs, and much exceeded them in the variety of claſſical works which it produced.

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The Elzevirs, juſtly celebrated for the correct and beautiful editions which they have given the world of the beſt writers of antiquity, reſided in this city, and ennobled its preſs by the elegant ſpecimens of typography which for the long courſe of a century appeared from their printing-office. But for the laſt fifty years this branch of trade has declined rapidly, and it may be conſidered at preſent as extinct. There are, however, ſome reſpectable bookſellers' ſhops, where choice collections of the claſſics are to be ſeen, which ſell at a much more reaſonable price than they are to be bought for in England; and for modern publications, Murray in the Breeſtraet may rank with the moſt eminent bibliopoliſts in Europe.

The woollen manufactory of Leyden, which half a century ago gave employment to ſeveral thouſand induſtrious workmen, and was a perennial fountain of wealth to the city, is now in the laſt ſtage of decay. If its manufactures never rivalled in the fineneſs of their articles the looms of England, their coarſe cloths found a ready ſale on the continent,

tinent, and the East and West-India companies procured them markets in the other quarters of the globe. As the commerce of Holland declined, that of Great Britain increased, and the manufacturers of Yorkshire, to the ruin of those of Leyden, found a vent for their commodities in most of the considerable markets of America and Asia, where the English cloth became in such estimation, that Dutch merchants trading to those ports soon discovered it was to their advantage to send out English cloths in preference to the manufactures of their own country. The woollen trade of Leyden also received much injury on the continent, from the establishment of extensive looms in various parts of Germany and the Netherlands, which then ceased to draw any considerable supplies from Holland; and the present war with England, by suspending nearly all exterior commerce, has almost filled up the measure of its misfortunes.

What advantage the restoration of peace will produce to the staple trade of Leyden, or whether it will ever revive to any extent

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of conſequence, are points which I do not feel competent or inclined to diſcuſs. The probable fate of its univerſity, when the ſword ſhall be ſheathed, and harmony reſtored to Europe, is a ſubject more congenial to my heart.

A period of general warfare is unfavourable to all ſeminaries of learning, becauſe it calls into the active employments of military life, a number of youths of fortune and condition who probably otherwiſe would have embraced ſome of the erudite profeſſions, or at leaſt have completed their education in a college. From this cauſe the univerſity of Leyden has ſuffered a diminution of its ſtudents in common with all the public academies of Europe, but more than thoſe of Great Britain and the other ſtates, into whoſe territories the actual flames of war have not been carried. It has alſo ſuſtained a great loſs of ſtudents from the interruption of the intercourſe between the republic and thoſe countries (the dominions of the Emperor and Great Britain) from whence Leyden attracted every year many pupils.

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A few years of tranquillity, under the care of ſkilful and learned profeſſors, will probably reſtore the univerſity of Leyden to much of its former luſtre. The neatneſs and accommodations of the city, the grave and ſober manners of its inhabitants, the purity of the air, and the beauty of the vicinage, are circumſtances which ſtrongly recommend the univerſity of this place, and eminently qualify it for ſtudious retirement and inſtruction.

LETTER X.

Departure from Leyden.— Haerlem.—Dutch cleanlineſs.—Cuſtom of ſmoking. Prevalency of the uſe of tobacco in Holland.—Famous organ of Haerlem. The revolution has not altered the dreſs or manners of the Dutch.—Coins the ſame as before the revolution.—Houſe of Mr. Hope.—Haerlem claims the honour of having invented the art of printing.—Laurence Coſtar. —Defence of Haerlem againſt the Spaniards. —Violation of the articles of capitulation by Frederic of Toledo —The infancy of the republic the brighteſt period in its annals.—Gueſes. —Muſeum of natural hiſtory.—Its ſcientific arrangement.—Teylerian inſtitution.—Bleacheries of Haerlem.

Haerlem, November, 1800.

WE paſſed from Leyden to this city in the uſual conveyance of the country, the treckſchuyt, and having places in the roof, ſociable company, and the advantage of fine weather, the voyage was uncommonly pleaſant.

ſant. The diſtance from Leyden to Haerlem is about fifteen miles. On one ſide of the canal lies the lake of Haerlem, a piece of navigable water, about fourteen miles in length and twelve in breadth, and on the other a diverſified and agreeable country.

Haerlem is a neat well-built city, but inferior to Leyden in the ſpaciouſneſs of its ſtreets, the elegance of its buildings, and the general air of propriety which reigns throughout the latter. Like the other towns of Holland, it abounds in canals, bridges, and trees; and its inhabitants are to be praiſed for their ſtrict and unwearied attention to cleanlineſs. Some writers have attributed this virtue in the Dutch nation to the exceſſive humidity of their climate, which would mould their wood and ruſt their metals, were they not to prevent or cure the evil by the moſt ſcrupulous cleanlineſs; and I believe the obſervation is true. Were they not almoſt daily waſhed, and the pernicious influence of the atmoſphere thereby counteracted, the damp air of Holland would in a few years rot and conſume the

periſhable materials of which buildings are compoſed. For this reaſon the paint-work of their houſes is kept in excellent condition, and parts of them are painted and varniſhed which might be thought not to need ſuch a protection. The ſame rigid attention to cleanlineſs equally pervades the interior of the houſes in Holland, and is often carried to an exceſs that is inconvenient and diſguſting to ſtrangers. I allude to the odious cuſtom which the Dutch have, who ſmoke after dinner, of introducing a ſpitting-pot upon the table, with the wine and glaſſes, which is handed round as regularly as the bottle, to the great annoyance of thoſe who do not ſmoke, yet are obliged to paſs the execrable utenſil to their neighbours, in order that all who have occaſion may diſcharge their ſaliva into it.

The cuſtom of ſmoking, I am aſſured, does not prevail near ſo much in Holland at preſent as it did twenty years ago, and this is uſed as an argument to prove that the national character of the Dutch is wearing off. But I am ſomewhat at a loſs to conceive how

how the cuſtom could be more general than it at preſent is. It is impoſſible to go into a coffee-houſe in the morning, even at an early hour, if a few gueſts are aſſembled, without being offended with the fumes of tobacco; and near exchange hours, or after dinner, the ſuffocating vapours which ariſe from twenty or thirty ſmokers are intolerable to perſons whoſe lungs are not habituated to ſuch a fumigation. All Dutchmen of the lower claſſes of ſociety, and not a few in the higher walks of life, carry in their pockets the whole apparatus which is neceſſary for ſmoking:—a box of enormous ſize, which frequently contains half a pound of tobacco; a pipe of clay or ivory, according to the fancy or wealth of the poſſeſſor; if the latter, inſtruments to clean it: a pricker to remove obſtructions from the tube of the pipe; a cover of braſs wire for the bowl, to prevent the aſhes or ſparks of the tobacco from flying out; and ſometimes a tinder-box, or bottle of phoſphorus, to procure fire, in caſe none is at hand.

The excuſe of the Dutch for their ſlaviſh

attachment to tobacco, in the moſt offenſive form in which it can be exhibited, is, that the ſmoke of this tranſatlantic weed preſerves them from many diſorders to which they are liable from the moiſture of the atmoſphere of their country, and enables them to bear cold and wet without inconvenience. This notion has perhaps contributed to the uſe of tobacco in Holland, by furniſhing its votaries with ſomething like an apology for their practice; but the majority of ſmokers doubtleſs uſe tobacco for the narcotic, ſtupifying effects, which its fumes produce. The conſumption of tobacco as a maſticatory is not near ſo great in Holland among the boors and ſailors, as it is among the common people of England; and ſnuff, the moſt elegant and harmleſs form in which the herb can be uſed, is not often to be met with among the higher orders of ſociety. In a carriage, or on horſeback, a Dutchman ſmokes his pipe with equal content and ſatisfaction, and boys of eight or ten years of age, in every other reſpect to be praiſed for their diffidence and modeſty, are permitted and encouraged to imitate,

imitate, in the uſe of tobacco, the baneful example of their elders. At the houſes of the middling claſſes of ſociety, where national manners are predominate, the firſt civility which a ſtranger uſually receives is the offer of a pipe, or at leaſt it accompanies the mention of any kind of refreſhment, and no hour of the day is thought unſeaſonable for the luxury of ſmoking. I have often diſappointed the exerciſe of this branch of Dutch hoſpitality; and it ſometimes happened, that the perſons whom I ſo refuſed, particularly if they were in mean ſituations of life, ſeemed to judge ill of my underſtanding for wanting the ſenſe to reliſh the weed of which the nation approved.

At Overſchie, the miſerable village which I formerly mentioned, where we were compelled by a ſtorm to lodge all night, the landlord, with an earneſtneſs which was the beſt aſſurance of his entire belief in its efficacy, entreated me to ſmoke a pipe, to prevent any bad conſequences happening to me from the drenching rain, which had wetted me to the ſkin; and my refuſal to try his

ſpecific excited in him a mixture of ſurpriſe and contempt. Elſewhere the officious waiters have brought me after dinner tobacco and a pipe, and always appeared ridiculouſly aſtoniſhed when with ſtrong tokens of diſguſt I ordered them to be removed.

In the great church of Haarlem ſtands the famous organ, which is the largeſt, and thought to be the fineſt, inſtrument of that kind in the world. By paying a ducat to the organiſt, and half-a-crown to the bellows blower, we heard it about an hour. It is an inſtrument of aſtoniſhing compaſs of powers. Some of its notes are ſo delicate as ſcarcely to exceed the warblings of a ſmall ſinging bird, others ſo loud as to ſhake the maſſy pile in which it ſtands. We expected to receive much pleaſure from the *vox humana*, or pipe which imitates the ſound of the human voice, for we had heard it greatly extolled; but high expectations are too often diſappointed, and we found the *vox humana* diſagreeable. It is the voice of a pſalm-ſinging clerk. On the whole, however, this inſtrument is exquiſitely delightful. I ought,

ought, perhaps, rather to ſay ſublime; for when the whole ſtrength of the organ is exerted, never did I hear, or could conceive, ſounds more godlike. The ſwelling majeſty of each gigantic note ſeems of more than mortal birth, and the ſlighteſt ſounds enchant the ear. Solemnity, grandeur, delicacy, and harmony, are the characteriſtics of this noble inſtrument. The length of the longeſt pipe is thirty-two feet, and its diameter ſixteen inches. In all, the organ has ſixty ſtops or voices, four ſeparations, two ſhakes, two couplings, and twelve bellows.—I borrow this information from a printed paper which we received from the organiſt. During the time the organ was playing, a number of well-dreſſed people collected in the church, and liſtened with rapturous attention to the divine ſounds of the inſtrument. Men as well as women in Holland keep on their hats in church, and many paid us the civility of a bow for the pleaſure which they received from the organ at our expence.

The cuſtom of bowing in Holland is extremely troubleſome. It is not ſufficient, as

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in England, that a perſon ſlightly moves his hat, but he muſt take it off his head, and continue uncovered till the man is paſt him to whom he pays the compliment. The ceremony of bowing is more ſtrictly obſerved at Leyden and Haerlem, than at Rotterdam or the Hague. In either of the former cities, a ſtranger of decent appearance can ſcarcely walk in the ſtreets without being obliged every minute to pull off his hat, to anſwer ſome civility of the ſame kind which he receives; and theſe compliments are paid him not only by opulent people, but by mechanics and labourers, who bow with all the gravity and politeneſs of their ſuperiors.

The revolution has not altered in the leaſt the national dreſs of the Dutch. Inſtead of cropped heads, pantaloons, and round hats, which I expected to find, moſt people have their hair full dreſſed and powdered, wear cocked hats, and the reſt of their clothes in the old faſhion. The term citizen is uſed to all perſons of authority, when they are addreſſed in their official capacities; but in converſation, or private tranſactions, every one

one uſes the appellation of mynheer, without fear or reſtraint. The old calendar is adhered to in all public ordinances, proclamations, &c. with the invariable addition of —— year of Batavian liberty: and no alteration has taken place in the devices or legends of the coins of the United Provinces. A guilder or florin of 1700 is preciſely the ſame as a guilder of 1800. There have been yearly coinages of ſilver to a conſiderable amount, ſince the overthrow of the ancient government.

At a ſhort diſtance from Haerlem is the houſe of Mr. Hope, the head of a family long diſtinguiſhed for its immenſe riches. On the revolution, this gentleman fled to England, and his property is now in a ſtate of ſequeſtration. We could not obtain a ſight of the inſide of this magnificent villa. Its architecture is beautiful, and were the building of ſtone, would be grand; but unfortunately it is of brick covered with ſtucco, and the dampneſs of the atmoſphere, with want of proper care, has cauſed much of the plaſter to fall off; ſo that in many places the red bricks

bricks peep through the white ſurface, to the great diſadvantage of the whole. It is ſituated at the entrance of an agreeable wood, and is conſidered as the moſt elegant modern building in the United Provinces.

Haerlem diſputes with Mentz and Straſburg the honour of having invented the noble art of printing, and aſſigns the merit of that important diſcovery to Laurence Coſtar, a citizen of the place, who flouriſhed towards the middle of the fifteenth century. The claim of Straſburg to this honour, has, I believe, been abandoned; and I will not preſume to decide between Haerlem and Mentz *. Coſtar is ſaid to have made the diſcovery by cutting the initial letters of his name on a piece of bark, and uſing it as a ſeal. An inſcription in Dutch points out the ſpot where the houſe of this eminently

* The advocates who beſtow the honour of the invention of printing on Haerlem, ſay that Fauſtus was the ſervant of Coſtar, and ſtole his types, with which he fled to Mentz, on Chriſtmas eve, while his maſter was attending his devotions at church.

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uſeful man ſtood, and his portrait is laudably diſplayed in moſt of the bookſellers' windows in Haerlem.

The heroic defence made by this city againſt the Spaniards, under Frederic of Toledo, a ſon worthy of the execrable Duke of Alva, terminated leſs fortunately than that of Leyden. The garriſon, which conſiſted of four thouſand men, indignantly refuſed the conditions which were offered them by the Spaniſh general, and by vigorous ſorties greatly diſtreſſed the beſieging army. The women of the place, in this conflict for their liberties, forgot the delicacy and ſoftneſs of their ſex, and combated with unwearied reſolution and deſperate courage, by the ſide of the men. Theſe patriotic females organiſed themſelves into regular battalions, and performed all the duties of the garriſon, with alacrity and preciſion. Unfortunately the hopes of ſucceſsful reſiſtance, inſpired the citizens of Haerlem with ſentiments of unjuſtifiable animoſity and revenge. With a cruelty not to be palliated, they hanged on the ramparts of the town the Spaniards whom

whom they took priſoners in their ſorties: and, what was more offenſive to a Spaniſh army in a bigotted age, they treated with profane deriſion and contempt the images and holy objects of the Catholic worſhip. Worn out by fatigue, preſſed by famine, and hopeleſs of relief, the citizens of Haerleng at length agreed to ſurrender, on condition that the lives of the garriſon and inhabitants of the town ſhould be ſpared. This was agreed to by the ſon of the Duke of Alva; but, with horrid perfidy, he violated the articles of capitulation, and two thouſand ſoldiers and inhabitants of the town were wantonly maſſacred in cold blood by the ſavage butchers of the Spaniſh army.

It is highly honourable to the Dutch that they preſerve with religious care the memory of the gallant actions of their anceſtors, and ſpeak with becoming pride of their noble achievements and unſhaken conſtancy. More than two centuries have elapſed ſince the arms of Spain ſpread terror and deſolation through the United Provinces, yet the murderous

murderous ſieges which they carried on, the bloody conflicts in which they were engaged, and the atrocious cruelties which they committed whenever victory declared on their ſide, are related and dwelt on with all the minuteneſs and circumſtantiality of recent events. The Spaniards are mentioned as men of yeſterday, and the ſlighteſt memorial is preſerved which relates to their treacheries, cruelties, or defeats. Indeed no period of the hiſtory of the republic has been ſo glorious as when the Provinces threw off the yoke of the Spaniſh monarchy, then the moſt powerful and wealthy in Europe, and maintained their independence againſt the numerous armies, under ſkilful and conſummate generals, which Philip II. and his ſucceſſors poured into Holland. Commerce had not then debauched the ſimplicity of their manners, and the love of liberty was their ruling paſſion. The noble influence of this generous paſſion converted a nation of fiſhermen and ſlaves into a race of heroes, worthy of the venerable times of Greece and Rome. Never was the love of country—

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the nobleſt ſentiment which can inhabit the human breaſt—carried to a greater extent, or more ſacredly adhered to, than by the brave Gueſes* who ſevered the Provinces from the dominion of Spain, maintained their liberties againſt the gigantic forces of that monarchy, and by their courage, reſolution, and wiſdom, finally eſtabliſhed in triumph the republic.

At Haerlem is an elegant muſeum of natural hiſtory, formed by Doctor Van Marum, to which ſtrangers find an eaſy acceſs. This cabinet is ſuperior to any in Holland. It is arranged with much ſcience and taſte, and

* This appellation, which ſignifies beggars, is reported to have originated thus. At an early period of the troubles in the Low-countries, five hundred patriots aſſembled in the court-yard of the palace at Bruſſels, to preſent a petition to the Ducheſs of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. and at that time governante of the Netherlands, againſt the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition. The princeſs, alarmed at the ſight of ſo many men, demanded who they were, and one of the courtiers contemptuouſly replied, they were gueſes, or beggars. The appellation was henceforward beſtowed on the patriotic party by their enemies as a term of bitter reproach, and adopted by the friends of liberty as a title of glorious diſtinction.

all

all its articles are in an excellent ſtate of preſervation. To every caſe is affixed a deſcription, according to the Linnean ſyſtem, of the object which it contains; and the different genera of the ſame ſpecies are inſtructively claſſed in progreſſive order, inſtead of being confuſedly mixed together as I have remarked in other collections. The aſſemblage of inſects of the papilio tribe is extremely numerous, and many of them of the firſt degree of rarity. On the whole, however, this muſeum is very inferior to the Leverian collection which is exhibited in London.

The inſtitution of Peter Teyler Vander Hulſt in this city, though I have no predilection for the ſubject which it principally patroniſes *, deſerves to be noticed. Peter Teyler was a rich merchant of Haerlem, who, without having diſplayed in his lifetime any attachment to ſcience, bequeathed at his death the whole of his fortune for the propagation of knowledge and the relief of the poor. A more magnificent donation has

* The diſcuſſion of theological metaphyſics.

ſeldom been offered on the altars of learning and charity. The revenues of the Teylerian inſtitution amounted before the revolution to the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand florins; but what were the mighty advantages to ſcience which reſulted from this ample income? The electrical experiments of Van Marum, under the auſpices of this inſtitution, are entitled to the moſt reſpectful mention*; but they are the only fruits which have been raiſed, by which ſcience has been benefited, from the hot-bed of this rich bequeſt. The deſire of accumulating, which is ſo prevalent in Holland, is ſaid to have reached the curators of this inſtitution; and inſtead of employing the vaſt funds which are at their diſpoſal to the advancement of knowledge, they have been overſolicitous to increaſe the capital ſtock of the inſtitution. What amount the accumulations of the Teylerian revenues have reached

* The experiments of Van Marum prove that the death of animals coincides inſtantaneouſly with the ceſſation of irritability.

I could

I could not learn with any degree of certainty; and it is now generally thought they have been appropriated by ſome ſilent act of government to the relief of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate.

At Haerlem there are conſiderable manufactures for the fabrication of fine linen cloths, dimity, ſatins, &c. which, though not in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as formerly they were, give employment to a number of workmen, and ſtill carry on a profitable trade with Brabant and Germany. The bleacheries of Haerlem are famous for the delicate whiteneſs which they give to linen cloths, large quantities of which are brought hither yearly from all parts of the United Provinces and Germany to undergo this operation, and before the war with Great Britain much was ſent from Ireland and Scotland. The ſuperior whiteneſs of the bleacheries of this town is attributed to a peculiar quality in the water of the lake of Haerlem, which cannot be imitated by any chemical proceſs which has yet been diſcovered.

LETTER XI.

Arrival at Amſterdam.—Politeneſs of a Dutch lady.—The Engliſh Bible.—Servants of hotels in Holland.—Condition of ſervants in general throughout the United Provinces.—The French theatre.—Profuſion of diamonds worn by the ladies.—A ſledge coach.—Examination of paſſports.—General d'Heniſdal.—The Doele hotel ſtadthouſe of Amſterdam.—Apartment in which ſentence of death is pronounced on criminals.—Baſſo-relievos.—Great hall of the ſtadthouſe.—Pictures.—Carillons.—Priſon for felons and debtors.—Humane laws of the republic reſpecting debtors.—Few perſons are puniſhed with death in Holland.—Bank of Amſterdam.—External appearance of the ſtadthouſe.—Figure of Atlas.—Hat of liberty.—Cuſtom-houſe.

Amſterdam, November, 1800.

WE arrived at this great city about four in the afternoon, during a very heavy ſhower of rain, which would have thoroughly drenched

us,

us, had we not been invited by an elderly woman to take ſhelter in her houſe till a carriage was provided for us. Our only recommendations to her were our being ſtrangers, and the inclemency of the afternoon. She inſiſted on our taking coffee with her; and though ſhe could neither talk Engliſh nor French, we contrived to hold a ſufficiently intelligible dialogue by ſigns. We informed her that we came from Haerlem in the treckſchuyt, and ſhe was extremely angry with our fellow paſſengers, that ſeeing we were ſtrangers, they had not conducted us to ſome place of ſhelter. In truth, the rain made them run as ſoon as they landed from the boat, and we were left with the little dirty boy who carried our portmanteau, to find our way as we could. The Dutch, however, in general, are to be praiſed for the attention which they pay to ſtrangers who travel with them, frequently offering to conduct them whither they are going, and guarding them againſt the impoſitions which the ſkippers and boatmen would put upon them.

A coach being procured for us, we ordered the driver to take us to the Star in the Neſs, an hotel to which we had been recommended. The houſe, however, was ſhut up, and we left it to the diſcretion of the coachman to conduct us to another hotel.—We could not deſcribe to him the kind of accommodations which we wanted, and he took us to an inn which is diſtinguiſhed by the ſingular name of the Engliſh Bible.

We could not have alighted at a worſe.—The houſe, landlady, and ſervants, were dirty to the laſt degree; and but that they ſpoke Engliſh very imperfectly, and the furniture and apartments were Dutch, I could have conceived myſelf to be in a Wapping tavern. This was extremely diſguſting to us, after the neatneſs and propriety to which we had been accuſtomed, with only one exception, the village of Overſchie, ſince our releaſe from ſhip-board.

The inns of Holland, with proper allowance for the unavoidable dirt and confuſion which a ſucceſſion of gueſts occaſions, are highly to be commended for their neatneſs and

and cleanlineſs, interior as well as external; the ſervants too of the hotels, particularly the females, are neat in their perſons; and there is a modeſt propriety in their manners, which I have ſeldom met with in the domeſtics of an Engliſh inn. I prefer them for other good qualities which they poſſeſs. Their deportment to ſtrangers is attentive, without any mixture of ſervility; they are obliging without obſequiouſneſs, and reſpectful without cringing. The ſervants of an inn, from the multiplicity of their maſters, and the immediate intereſt which they have in gratifying the perſons whom they ſerve, generally poſſeſs leſs of the dignity of manhood, than any other menials. But of this fault the Dutch waiters are not to be accuſed; they diſcharge all the offices of their ſituation without being degraded by it: their civility never deviates into meanneſs, nor does their attention to avoid ſervility degenerate into rudeneſs.

The condition of ſervants in general throughout the United Provinces is much ſuperior to that of the ſame uſeful claſs of

people in England. This difference, to the honour of Holland, ariſes from the ſimple, unoſtentatious manners of the nation, and its republican conſtitution, which, though vitiated and diſeaſed in its legiſlative and executive powers, ought to be reverenced for its effects on the private and domeſtic inſtitutions of life. The abolition of the uſe of liveries has deſtroyed an invidious mark of diſtinction between the maſter and the ſervant, without abridging the former of any of his proper authority, or furniſhing the latter with any excuſe for inſolence. The treatment of female ſervants in Holland is remarkably kind and humane; unleſs for ſufficient grounds of removal, they generally continue in a family for a number of years, and are conſidered rather as humble members of it, than as domeſtics. The regularity with which the Dutch live, renders the labours of their ſervants comparatively eaſy, from the circumſtance that as they are acquainted with the whole of the daily work which they have to perform, ſo they are enabled to execute it in a manner moſt convenient

to

to themſelves. In houſes where there are more ſervants than one, once a week, the ſeventh day is allotted in rotation to each for pleaſure and recreation; and they are allowed the ſame privilege at fair times, which are frequent in Holland, and public feſtivals.

The evening was too far advanced to remove from the Engliſh Bible to ſearch for another lodging, we were obliged therefore to endure with patience its inconveniences. That we might paſs, however, as little time as poſſible in a diſagreeable ſituation, we went to the French comédie, the only place of public entertainment which was open. The performances were "Les Dangers de l'Abſence, ou le Souper de Famille," a ſentimental comedy in two tedious acts; and "La Caravane du Caire," a pleaſant operatical ballet in three acts, with excellent muſic, by Grétry. The French theatre is ſmall but neat, and the ſcenery and decorations are taſteful. The audience was rather numerous, compared with the attendance of ſpectators which we had ſeen at the Dutch play-houſes.

houſes. There was not indeed much company in the boxes, but the pit was nearly filled, and the gallery appeared crowded. Each bench of the pit had a rail to the back of it, a convenience which I have before commended in the Dutch theatres. Perſons of the greateſt reſpectability and opulence in Holland do not think it unworthy of their dignity or fortunes to ſit in the pit of the theatre, and they dreſs equally well for that part of the houſe as for the boxes. Moſt of the ladies in the pit, advanced in life, wore an aſtoniſhing quantity of diamonds. A lapidary might ſpeak of their brilliancy and water, their ſize and value; but I can only ſay that the profuſion of precious ſtones was immenſe. A lady who ſat near us wore a necklace compoſed of three rows of large diamonds, bracelets, and head pins equally ſuperb; diamond ear-rings, and buckles; and on her fingers rings without number. I will not hazard any computation of what the ornament of her dreſs might be worth. Her jewels were ſet in an old-faſhioned ſubſtantial ſtyle, and had probably been

been in the poſſeſſion of her family a century and a half. I particulariſe the ornaments of this perſon's dreſs becauſe we ſat near her, but there were other ladies in the pit of the theatre to all appearance equally ſuperbly and expenſively habited.

The carriage which took us to and from the theatre was a coach faſtened on a ſledge, and drawn by a ſingle horſe. The driver walks by the ſide of the coach, with a whip and reins in his hand, and guides the machine whenever it turns an abrupt corner. Theſe vehicles are common in Amſterdam, and to be hired at half the price that is required for a carriage which runs on wheels. The magiſtrates of Amſterdam are careful to licenſe few wheeled coaches, on account of the inſubſtantiality of the foundations of the city, which they think would be ſhaken and injured, were many ſuch carriages permitted to be driven about the ſtreets. The motion of a ſledge coach is ſlow and jolting, if the pavement be not good, which often happens, and few ſtrangers find them an agreeable mode of conveyance. If the drivers are not careful,

careful, they may eaſily be overturned, but the carriages are placed ſo near the ground that bad conſequences can ſeldom happen from accidents of that kind. Returning from the theatre our driver carried a flambeau with him; an uſeleſs appendage, for the ſtreets of Amſterdam are well lighted; but his motive was to make an additional charge. The whole demand, however, was extremely reaſonable, if compared with the rates of hackney coaches in London. Including the time we were at the theatre, the ſledge was engaged by us about four hours, and the fare amounted only to a florin, or twenty pence Engliſh. The driver demanded and received a gratuity, but he was ſatisfied with, and thankful for, a moderate donation.

We waited on the municipality at the ſtadthouſe in the morning to have our paſſports examined. The gentlemen to whom this office belonged behaved to us with a politeneſs ſo unuſual to perſons in their ſituations, that I ſhould be ſorry not to mention it. They ſcarcely peruſed the deſcription of our perſons which the paſſports contained,

contained, but enquiring how long it was probable we ſhould remain in Amſterdam, they affixed the neceſſary certificate of inſpection to our papers, and in the moſt obliging terms hoped that our reſidence in their city would prove agreeable. Judging of the cuſtoms of other nations from a country where the fees of office are exorbitant, and the clerks inſolent and rapacious, I was ſurpriſed at the politeneſs of the Dutch, and that we had nothing to pay for the inſpection of our paſſports. Thoſe who are acquainted with the municipal government of London will readily account for my ſurpriſe.

Our buſineſs with the municipality being diſpatched, we waited on General d'Heniſdal, the French commandant of Amſterdam, to deliver to him the recommendation with which we were favoured by General Chorié. He received us with much civility; and on our repreſenting to him the badneſs of our accommodations at the Engliſh Bible, he carried us to the Doele on the Cingel, one of the beſt hotels in Amſterdam, where we are at preſent lodged. It is kept by a widow, whoſe

whoſe good-humoured features, and obliging manners, are extremely agreeable. It is happy for the miſtreſs of an hotel, who has occaſion ſo often to dreſs her face with ſmiles, when nature has furniſhed her with a pleaſing countenance; a forced ſmile from a ſet of features gloomy and lowering like the approaches of a winter's ſtorm, carries with it to me ſomething inconceivably diſguſting.

The ſtadthouſe of Amſterdam is one of the firſt curioſities of the city, which a ſtranger is anxious to viſit. It is undoubtedly one of the moſt magnificent buildings in the world, as well for beauty of architecture, elegance of decoration, and the vaſt ſpace of ground which it covers. The firſt pile which ſupports the foundation of this houſe was driven into the ground January the 20th, 1648, and by the 6th of October in the ſame year thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five, the aggregate number of maſſy trees on which the building reſts, were driven into the moraſs. The firſt ſtone, with a ſuitable inſcription, was then laid, and ſeven years afterwards, the different colleges

colleges of magiſtrates took poſſeſſion in ſtate of the apartments deſigned for their ſeveral uſes. The principal architect was John Van Kampen, who was aſſiſted or controlled by four burgomaſters of the city; and the expence of the whole, as eſtimated by various authors, amounted to two millions ſterling.

To deſcribe the various apartments which the ſtadthouſe contains—the chamber of the burgomaſters, the treaſury, the ſecretary's office, the hall for petty cauſes, the great hall of juſtice, the chamber of domains, of inſurance, of orphans, the counſel-room, the offices of the bank, the citizens'-hall, &c. &c. —were a taſk of too great magnitude for a touriſt to undertake, with any reaſonable expectation that he could competently execute it. A few apartments, however, may without impropriety be noticed. The hall where criminals are brought to receive ſentence is on the baſement floor of the ſtadthouſe, and is decorated with baſſo-relievos analogous to the uſe to which it is dedicated. In one compartment is repreſented the ſtory of

of Junius Brutus putting his ſons to death; in another, Zaleucus, the Locrian king, tearing out an eye to preſerve one for his ſon, who by his father's law was condemned to loſe both for the crime of adultery; and in a third, the judgment of Solomon. The head of Bellona beneath the Roman ſtory is of ſculpture that would do honour to a Grecian chiſſel. I muſt not omit to mention a figure of ſilence, repreſented as a woman ſeated on the ground, with a finger on her mouth, and two children weeping over a death's head. This chamber contains alſo allegorical figures of puniſhment, and axes, faſces, and chains, the inſtruments of tyranny or juſtice. When ſentence of death is to be pronounced on a criminal, he is brought guarded into this hall, the magiſtrates of the city appear in a gallery above, dreſſed in their robes of ceremony, and nothing is neglected which can contribute to the ſolemnity of the aweful ſcene. I am ſatisfied of the inexpediency of the puniſhment of death, if I may uſe the term, of its unlawfulneſs; when, however, nothing but the death of a criminal will

will appeaſe the tribunal which arraigns him, every circumſtance of ſolemnity ſhould be given to this dreadful act of legiſlative vengeance. If the intention of puniſhments be, what lawyers maintain it is*, not to inflict pain on the criminal, but to provide for the public ſecurity by ſhewing the conſequences of offending, no auxiliary ought to be wanting to the ſpectacle which can inſpire the ſpectators with awe. The manner of paſſing ſentence of death in Holland is dignified, ſolemn, and impreſſive: it muſt on reflection appear ſtrikingly ſo to a perſon who has ſeen condemnations at the Old Bailey, where ſometimes a dozen wretches are crowded into a box to be told, in a ſtyle little reverent or awful, that the law ſentences them to be hanged.

* Ut poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat.
CICERO.
Tully, with his generous love of liberty, was too often an advocate. Lawyers conſtantly declare that puniſhments are not inflicted by way of expiation or atonement for a crime committed, but as a precaution againſt future offences.—This has been the language of Engliſh lawyers from the days of Bracton to the preſent hour.

The great hall of the ſtadthouſe is uſed as a promenade by the perſons whom buſineſs draws to the public offices. The braſs gates by which it is entered are of wonderful beauty and ſolidity of execution. At one end of the hall is elevated a figure of Atlas, bearing on his ſhoulders the globe, and attended by Wiſdom and Vigilance. On the roof, Amſterdam is repreſented as a woman richly habited, and ſurrounded by the deities of the heathen mythology. Neptune preſents her with a crown, Mercury offers her a ſceptre, and Cybele her keys. On the floor of this hall the celeſtial and terreſtrial globes are delineated with braſs and various coloured marbles; but the feet of the multitudes who daily walk here, have nearly effaced the ſigns of the heavens and the diviſions of the earth.

In the burgomaſter's chamber is a beautiful picture by Ferdinand Bol, repreſenting Fabricius in the camp of Pyrrhus, and another of Curius at his frugal repaſt. The council-chamber is adorned with a large picture of Moſes and the ſeventy Elders of Iſrael,

Iſrael, by Brankhorſt; and Solomon, by Flink, an artiſt whom I have formerly praiſed, devoutly aſking of Heaven the ineſtimable gift of wiſdom. The marble chimney-pieces of this apartment are ornamented with ſome exquiſitely ſculptured hiſtorical baſſo-relievos; and over the doors are ſome pleaſing imitations of baſſo-relievos, by J. de Wit, the artiſt who decorated with ſimilar productions the great eating-room at the Houſe in the Wood.

An apartment very unworthy of their tranſcendent excellence, contains a large picture, by B. Vanderhelſt, of the feaſt given by the burgomaſters of Amſterdam to the ambaſſadors of Spain, on account of the peace of Munſter; a pacification which ſheathed the ſword that had for eighty years deſolated the Netherlands: and a ſimilar ſubject by Vandyke; for the head of an old man, in which piece, the ſum of ſeven thouſand florins was offered. I endeavoured to diſcover ſome extraordinary merit in the head, to juſtify the price which was offered for it to be cut out, but without ſuc-

ceſs. I ſaw it twice, and failed both times. A vaſt repoſitory of beauties, like the ſtadthouſe of Amſterdam, where there is much to admire in the nobleneſs of the building, and the elegance of the decorations, ſurcharges the mind with objects, and the judgment is proportionally weakened as it is extenſively exerciſed. To the circumſtance, then, that my judgment was enfeebled by the multiplicity of objects which had engaged it, is probably to be attributed my not being able to diſcern in Vandyke's grey-headed old man the ſingular excellence for which it is praiſed by connoiſſeurs. The ſame apartment contains pictures by Rubens, Otho Venius, and Jordaans: but the two which I have noticed are the beſt.

The tower, or ſteeple, of the ſtadthouſe is viſited by ſtrangers, on account of the carillons, or muſical chimes, which it contains. Theſe play every quarter of an hour ſome different airs; and three times a-week at noon a carilloneur attends to play on the bells, for the amuſement of the citizens of Amſterdam. Throughout Holland, the moſt difficult

difficult tunes are executed on the bells with a precision that is aſtoniſhing. The chief fault of this ſpecies of muſic is, that the ſound of one note, for the want of ſtops, is confounded with the ſound of another; and when the chimes are out of order, which often happens, from the complexity of the tunes which they play, an unpleaſant diſcord is produced. The labour of a carilloneur is ſo ſevere, that after he has performed an hour, he is generally obliged to go to bed; and even in winter, he plays, or rather works, in his ſhirt.

On the ground-floor of the ſtadthouſe is the priſon of the city for capital offenders, and apartments of detention for debtors. The latter did not amount to thirty; and the number of felons in this place of confinement, or rather I ought to ſay of perſons ſuſpected of felony, for none of them had been tried, was five. I ſaw but one of the felons' cells, which I believe was a fair ſpecimen of the reſt, in which two perſons were confined. It was airy, clean, and ſpacious, and the perſons who inhabited it ſeemed

healthy. They were in irons, but the weight of their fetters was not to be compared with ſome which I have ſeen in England. One of the priſoners was a youth about twenty, with an intelligent penetrating countenance: I have ſeen moſt of the rules of Lavater reverſed, but, could I have taken him from his dungeon, I would with tranquillity and confidence have committed to his guardianſhip the care of my property or the ſecurity of my perſon.

I could not obtain admiſſion into the chamber which contains the inſtruments of torture. The hinges of the door were not ruſty; and what time has elapſed ſince theſe engines of human or deviliſh ingenuity were uſed (for their uſe I underſtand is ſtill permitted), I could not learn. To my enquiries, if any ſtate priſoners had been tortured ſince the revolution, I received the moſt peremptory negative; a negative which ſeemed to reſent my queſtion as an inſult to the humanity of the Dutch nation; and I was aſſured on the contrary, that perſons ſuſpected of crimes againſt the ſtate, had been

been treated, at the moſt critical and alarming periods, with the utmoſt tenderneſs and lenity. How honourable is this account to the government of Holland, when compared with the treatment of the ſtate priſoners in England! The government of no country can be ſuppoſed to entertain a perſonal animoſity againſt thieves and felons, their treatment, therefore, almoſt invariably proceeds from circumſtances for which the executive power cannot be praiſed or cenſured; but if the executive power, where itſelf is intimately concerned, proceeds againſt individuals ſuſpected of ſtate crimes with inordinate ſeverity, rigour, and harſhneſs, incarcerating them in noxious cells, ſecluding them from all intercourſe with their friends, and treating their well-founded remonſtrances with inſolence (the inſolence of office and authority acting illegally), it may readily and with certainty be concluded, that ſuch meaſures are purſued, not to anſwer the ends of public juſtice, but to gratify perſonal reſentments, or party animoſities.

The debtors' apartments were leſs neat and orderly than the felons, and I felt a diſagreeable ſmell of gin and tobacco. The men were dirty in their perſons, and extremely clamorous for charity. What their allowance was from their creditors I could not preciſely learn, it varying according to circumſtances; but I underſtood it was an allowance in money, and as the rates were fixed when all the articles of life were much cheaper than they at preſent are, the debtors find it a very inadequate ſupport.

The ſmall number of priſoners for debt in Amſterdam is the happy reſult of the excellent laws of Holland reſpecting creditors and debtors. No perſon can be arreſted for debt who has not been regularly ſummoned three times, with the interval of fourteen days between each ſummons; and ſix weeks further muſt elapſe from the laſt official notification and demand of the debt, before the creditor is permitted to arreſt, or ſeize the effects of, the inſolvent perſon. By this indulgent mode of procedure, debtors are generally enabled either fully to ſettle their affairs,

affairs, or liberally to compromiſe with their creditors, ſo that few are ſent to priſon on account of the embarraſſment of their circumſtances.

A man may not be arreſted in his own houſe in Holland, or even ſtanding at the door of it, though all the previous citations ſhould have been made; and ſhould his wife be lying-in, he is humanely privileged, during the period of her illneſs, to go abroad without any moleſtation from his creditors or bailiffs.

There are ſome exceptions to theſe benevolent rules, regarding bills of exchange; debts due to the government, as taxes, duties, or fines; and houſe-rent, when the arrears exceed four quarters. It appears, however, from the ſmall number of debtors confined in Amſterdam, that in few caſes are the laws againſt inſolvent perſons very rigorouſly applied. An inferior court, compoſed of intelligent and upright citizens, has a power to determine ſmall claims; and by means of this tribunal much expenſive litigation is prevented. Its deciſions are abſolute,

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and they are merciful and equitable. It would be found, I believe, on examination, that nearly one third of the amount of the ſums for which perſons are confined in the various priſons of England, has ariſen from the dreadful expence of law proceedings;—an evil of deſtructive magnitude, which the wiſe policy of the Dutch has carefully guarded againſt.

The number of criminals in the priſon of the ſtadthouſe of Amſterdam, forms a pleaſing panegyric on the morals of the inhabitants of that great city, or the vigilance of the police. Since the year ninety-ſix, a period of the greateſt national calamity, which has been moſt ſeverely felt by the lower orders of ſociety, only three criminals have ſuffered by the hand of the executioner. The yearly average of executions for London and Middleſex exceeds forty *; a lamentable

* From December 1783, to December 1788 (vide Howard's Works, vol. 2.), the number of executions in London and Middleſex amounted to 324, which gives

mentable proof of the ſanguinary ſpirit of the Engliſh laws, or the diſſolute manners of the nation. In ſome of the United Provinces, the barbarous ſpectacle of a public execution has not occurred within a century; and the average of malefactors who in that period have ſuffered at Amſterdam, is leſs than one victim a year devoted to appeaſe the indignation of offended laws. How amiable and enlightened is this policy, compared with the profuſe waſte of human life by the Engliſh courts of juſtice! At different times, the Britiſh legiſlature has deliberately pronounced one hundred and ſixty crimes

gives an average of about ſixty-five perſons yearly ſuffering by the hand of the executioner. The average of the twelve preceding years gives thirty-nine convicts annually hanged. If the amount be taken for ſeventeen years, from 1771 to 1788, the average is rather more than forty-ſeven executions a year. Since that period the number of perſons annually hanged may ſafely be averaged at forty. The war, by furniſhing a number of turbulent, ill-diſpoſed, or neceſſitous perſons, with employment in the army or navy, has abridged the yearly labours of the public executioner.

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to be worthy of the punishment of death *. It may safely be affirmed, that so sanguinary a code does not disgrace the institutions of any other nation or period.

On the ground-floor of the stadthouse also are the strong apartments which formerly contained the immense treasures of the bank of Amsterdam, and the offices for conducting the concerns of that opulent establishment. I shall hereafter more particularly notice the bank of Amsterdam, and its *condition to fulfil* its engagement with its creditors, when the French became masters of Holland, and discovered to the world the pecuniary resources of this celebrated commercial institution. A small number of clerks are still

* Such was the estimate of Blackstone, a man by no means disposed to represent the laws of England in an unfavourable light, in 1769. Since that period, scarcely a sessions of parliament has been held, in which the punishment of death has not been enacted against offences, which, before, a lighter punishment was thought sufficient to coerce. The number has therefore been much increased, and it is greatly to be feared that not less than two hundred crimes are enrolled on this bloody catalogue.

employed

employed in the offices of the bank, to receive the voluminous claims of its creditors. On the reſtoration of peace, its advantages to the mercantile world will probably cauſe it, with proper modifications, to be revived, and under honeſt and upright direction, it may again become an uſeful and reſpectable inſtitution.

The external appearance of the ſtadthouſe is noble and grand; and certainly it is in every reſpect worthy of the opulent city, for the accommodation of which it was erected. The entrance, by ſeven ſmall gates, has been cenſured as mean for ſo magnificent a building, and undoubtedly an elegant portal would have been more congenial to the architecture of the whole. But here ſecurity was preferred to beauty. The burgomaſters who ſuperintended the building of the ſtadthouſe, conſidering that the treaſures of the bank, the archives of the city, and the documents of the public offices, would be lodged in it; and knowing the turbulence and inſtability of the populace

lace of Amſterdam; thought that ſeven ſmall gates could be more eaſily defended than a large one, if, in caſe of a popular ſedition, the mob attacked the ſtadthouſe with a view to plunder its treaſures, or by the deſtruction of the records which it contained, to involve the country in ruin and confuſion.

The top of the ſtadthouſe is ornamented with ſeveral noble ſtatues, one of which, a coloſſal figure of Atlas, with a copper globe of immenſe ſize on his ſhoulders, is of remarkably fine execution. The attitude of the figure is ſtriking, and the whole conception of the piece grand. It may not be improper in this place to mention, that the fineſt pieces of ſculpture which ornament the ſtadthouſe of Amſterdam, are from the chiſſel of Artus Quellinus, a ſtatuary of Antwerp, a city more eminent for the celebrated artiſts which it has produced, than for the riches and commerce which it formerly enjoyed.

In the ſquare before the ſtadthouſe, is elevated on a pole, or rather maſt, almoſt an hundred

hundred feet high, the hat of Batavian liberty. The maſt is painted with the national colours, red, white, and blue; and towards the top it is ornamented with artificial foliage of the palm-tree. The baſe of the pole aſſumes ſomewhat the form of a column, and figures, painted on boards, of Liberty, Juſtice, Independence, &c. are attached to it. As in other places of Holland, the tree of liberty was found not to flouriſh here, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to rear a maſt, conſpicuouſly to diſplay the emblem of Dutch freedom.

The ſpace before the ſtadthouſe, or the dam as it is called, is diſgraced with a mean erection, the cuſtom-houſe of the city. It is a ſmall, miſerable building, and furniſhes a ſtranger, who has ſeen the ſpacious and magnificent edifices for the collection of revenue in London, with very humble ideas of the commerce of Amſterdam. There was not a throng of perſons about it, though at a time of the day when buſineſs is uſually tranſacted: but I ſaw a conſiderable quantity of merchandiſe, which was brought to be examined,

examined, and weighed. I ſhould mention that this is the principal, but there are two more cuſtom-houſes in Amſterdam, at convenient diſtances, for the facility of trade.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

Streets of Amſterdam.—Canals.—Shopkeepers.—Begging prohibited in Amſterdam.—A little pedlar boy.—The Exchange.—A literary ſociety, the Felix Meritis.*—Extent of Amſterdam.—Number of houſes.—Population.—Police.—Watchmen.—Fire centinels.—City militia.—The Raſp-houſe of Amſterdam.—Labour of the criminals confined in it.—Expedient formerly uſed to oblige refractory criminals to work.—General appearance of the priſoners.—Terms of confinement.—Account of a man ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.—Exemption from labour to be purchaſed.—Figure over the gate of the Raſp-houſe.—The Spin-houſe or Bridewell for women.—Licenſed brothels of Amſterdam.*

Amſterdam, 1800.

THE ſtreets of Amſterdam are not to be compared for neatneſs or cleanlineſs with thoſe of Leyden or Haerlem. With the

exception of a few ſtreets in the beſt quarter of the town, they are in general extremely dirty, and the canals abound with putrid offals of every deſcription. During the heats of ſummer, the noxious effluvia which proceed from the ſtagnate waters of the canals, corrupted with the moſt offenſive animal and vegetable ſubſtances, muſt be highly pernicious to the health, and deſtructive of the comforts, of the inhabitants of this city. To purify the canals, there are erected at the extremities of the town, mills to pump out the foul water, and cauſe the ſtagnate pools to circulate. Every day the gates and ſluices are opened, and a number of barges are employed to collect the dirt that floats on the ſurface of the canals, or raiſe the mud from the bottom. Theſe boats, when they are full, tranſport their cargoes to Brabant, and the price which is given there for the manure defrays the expence of the voyage.

Notwithſtanding all the care that is taken to cleanſe the canals of Amſterdam, they are moſt diſguſtingly impure. In moſt of them are to be ſeen the offals of ſlaughter-houſes, putrified

putrified fiſh, and the refuſe of the vegetable markets. Dead dogs and cats float about without number, and in one canal I ſaw a horſe in a horrid ſtate of corruption. The water of the canals is generally a yard below the pavement of the ſtreet, and about eight or nine feet deep, with perhaps a yard of ſoft mud at the bottom, ſo that when an animal or a man tumbles in, unleſs aſſiſtance is at hand, his deſtiny is ſingularly fortunate if he eſcapes drowning. The brink of very few of the canals is guarded with rails or a chain, but there are a ſufficient number of lamps, at convenient diſtances, to ſhow the proximity of the canals in the darkeſt nights; and as ſtrangers are cautious how they walk, from a proper ſenſe of danger, and the inhabitants of the town are well acquainted with the ſituation of the canals, few accidents occur.

The ſtreets of Amſterdam, and indeed of all Holland, have no path for the excluſive accommodation of foot paſſengers, as in England. Flag-ſtones, the beſt kind of pavement for this purpoſe, are not to be ex-

pected in a country where there are no quarries (though if I recollect right London is principally paved with ſtones from Scotland), but ſome attention ſhould ſurely be paid to the ſecurity and comforts of the multitude. The ſtreets of Amſterdam are paved with bricks; and in the trading part of the town are as dirty as Wapping or Thames-ſtreet.

Contrary to the practice of ſhopkeepers in England, the traders of Amſterdam make no oſtentatious diſplay of their commodities in the windows of their ſhops, and indeed they are generally unfit for exhibitions of that nature. A few of the coarſeſt articles which they ſell, and leaſt likely to be damaged by expoſure are placed with little regularity or attention in their windows, and barely ſerve to announce the nature of their dealings. We found in the ſhops which we had occaſion to viſit, the men polite and intelligent; if they could not ſpeak Engliſh or French, which frequently happened, we rarely had much difficulty in making them underſtand what we wanted, and they never in the leaſt

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impoſed upon us becauſe we were foreigners, or unacquainted with the value of the articles which we purchaſed. I cannot, however, commend the female ſhopkeers with whom we had dealings, either for civility, intelligence, or honeſty: when the difficulty of making known our wants to them was ſubdued, which often was a violent exerciſe of patience and ingenuity, we were repulſed by the exorbitance of their charges. A female ſhopkeeper aſked me for a ſmall buſt of Bonaparte, which on the recommendation of General d'Heniſdale as a faithful likeneſs I was deſirous to purchaſe, ſixteen florins: being perſuaded that her demand was unreaſonable, I went elſewhere, and purchaſed at a ſhop, not under female management, a ſimilar caſt at a reduction of price little ſhort of ten florins.—, unleſs ſhe was accompanied by ſome Dutch lady, had equal reaſon to complain of the *merchande des modes*. Theſe bad qualities in Dutch women who keep ſhops, which I record with great reluctance, probably proceed from ſome defects in their educations, and the

ſubordinate rank, corrupting their minds, and weakening their feelings of moral equity, to which women are condemned in Holland, and I may add, in ſeven eighths of the world.

Begging is ſo rigorouſly prohibited in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, not a mendicant is to be ſeen. A number of poor wretches, however, are to be found in the moſt frequented ſtreets, who carry with them cheap toys for ſale, and they loudly entreat paſſengers for charity ſake and chriſtian compaſſion to purchaſe ſome of their little articles. A little pedlar boy of this deſcription, not ſeven years of age, aſked me in three different languages (French, Engliſh, and Dutch) to become a purchaſer of his wares; and if the phyſiognomy of the youthful linguiſt was to be relied on as a proof of his extraction, a competent acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue might be added to his acquiſitions in modern dialects. Knowledge ſo premature was not likely to be extenſive. His acquirements in Engliſh and French were barely ſufficient to recommend his commodities, and pi-

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teously to ſtate his claims on benevolence. His inſtructions in the art of ſoliciting charity had, however, been ample, and he had digeſted his leſſons with a ſagacity and acuteneſs vaſtly ſuperior to his years. It may readily be believed, I did not turn a deaf ear to the entreaties of a child, clad in the habiliments of want and miſery, thus ſingularly endowed; and from a grateful ſpirit, or perhaps to ſhow himſelf maſter of his profeſſion (which ſuppoſition I would rather adopt), prayers for my welfare were offered to Heaven through the diſtinct and articulate medium of three ſeparate languages.

The aſſociation of ideas when I was converſing with this little urchin, brought to my mind the ſtory of Prince Maurice of Orange, and the parrot that converſed with him in the Brazils, as it is told by Sir William Temple, and adopted, with a credulity worthy of the goſſiping biſhop of Sarum, Dr. Burnet, by Locke in his Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding.

At the Hague, and Rotterdam, where

they are permitted, I have met with beggars who could aſk charity in the French and Engliſh tongues, as well as their native language; but they were perſons advanced in life, and conſequently my wonder was diminiſhed. I muſt here remark, that throughout the towns of Holland which I have ſeen, none of thoſe ſqualid and diſguſting objects obtrude themſelves on the compaſſion of the public, which are to be met with, and offend the eye, in the ſtreets and on the highways of England. In the great cities of Holland there are munificent foundations for the reception of all kinds of lazars, where their treatment is tender, and their maintenance comfortable.

Notwithſtanding the decayed ſtate of the commerce of Amſterdam, at the hours of buſineſs the exchange is filled with merchants and traders. It is a ſmaller building than the Royal Exchange of London, and leſs neat and commodious. Like the Exchange of Rotterdam, it ſerves alſo as a rendezvous for the militia of the city, who aſſemble once a week to be exerciſed in the

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uſe of arms. It can only be the force of habit, now that their trade is nearly extinct, which leads the merchants of Amſterdam to aſſemble as uſual on their exchange. The hours of buſineſs are from twelve to two, and the exchange then exhibits a ſingular aſſemblage of men of various nations dreſſed in the peculiar habits of their countries, and to appearance all ardently engaged in one common purſuit—the accumulation of money.

I haſten with pleaſure from a ſcene where the energies of the human mind are diſgracefully employed, to mention an inſtitution honourable to the citizens of Amſterdam, and advantageous to ſcience.

In 1777 a ſociety, compoſed of forty opulent and enlightened individuals, was formed at Amſterdam for the laudable purpoſe of promoting knowledge and the elegant arts. In the proſecution of their deſigns, the ſociety experienced at firſt much oppoſition from the ſtadtholderian party, the orthodox clergy of Holland, and the frugal merchants of the old ſchool, who regarded as

as dangerous innovations all purſuits which were not immediately and diſtinctly connected with trade. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantages againſt which the ſociety had to ſtruggle, from this powerful combination, animated by political rancour, religious fears, and inveterate prejudices, its condition ſoon became more flouriſhing than the moſt ſanguine hopes of its projectors had led them to expect. In a ſhort time the funds of the inſtitution amounted to a million florins, and a noble edifice was built for its uſe in one of the principal ſtreets of Amſterdam. This building was opened for public inſtruction, with a ſuitable diſcourſe by Profeſſor Van Swinden, the firſt of November, 1788.

The title which this ſociety has adopted is *Felix Meritis*, implying perhaps the happineſs which reſults to the human ſpecies from the ſucceſsful cultivation of ſcience; and the number of its members is increaſed from forty to upwards of twelve hundred. The reſearches of this ſociety are comprehended under five general heads. Phyſics, which embrace natural hiſtory, medicine,

and

and chemiſtry; commerce, which includes whatever relates to navigation, agriculture, or manufactures; the imitative arts, painting and ſculpture; muſic; and laſtly, literature.

Each of theſe claſſes is furniſhed with an apartment for its excluſive uſe, and proper inſtruments for experiments, or to facilitate the communication of knowledge. The chamber of phyſics contains a ſmall muſeum of natural hiſtory, and ſome anatomical preparations. Their arrangement is neat and ſcientific. In the hall of commerce are various models of uſeful inventions. The muſic room is admired for the happy diſpoſition of its orcheſtra, but in what its peculiar merit conſiſts I could not perfectly learn, nor had I an opportunity of judging, as we were unfortunately prevented by an engagement from attending the concert, which is weekly held at this room. In the apartment ſacred to literature is a good collection of books: the lecturer's pulpit of mahogany is ornamented with carvings emblematical of learning, of the moſt beautiful execution.

The

The hall of painting afforded us no favourable ideas of the preſent ſtate of that art in Holland. It contained only two pictures, one of which was the front elevation of the building, the other a group of ſtudents (portraits) attending to the lecture of a profeſſor. There were, however, a tolerable aſſemblage of caſts from the antique, for the inſtruction of young painters, and I was told that ſeveral pupils of reſpectable promiſe attended almoſt daily to profit by them.

From the top of the building we had a good proſpect of the city of Amſterdam. The day was remarkably fine, which is rather unuſual at Amſterdam in the month of November, and as the town is built on a perfect level, we enjoyed from our elevation a complete view of it. To all appearance, the capital of Holland does not cover one third of the ſpace of ground which is occupied by the buildings of London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark*. Many of the ſtreets, however,

* I mean only the connected buildings of London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark, and do not take into my eſtimate

however, through which canals do not run, are narrow, and there are no extenſive ſquares, ſo that the number of houſes in Amſterdam, for the ſpace of ground on which it ſtands, is great. The appearance of the ſtadthouſe from the top of the Felix Meritis (for the name of the ſociety is given to the houſe where it holds its ſittings, and inſcribed in large letters of gold on the front) is noble; but the churches and other public buildings of the city are not much to be commended either for elegance or grandeur.

According to an accurate eſtimate made in 1783, the number of houſes in Amſterdam amounted to thirty thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, and it was then ſuppoſed to receive a yearly increaſe of fifty dwellings. The calamitous circumſtances of the times, ſince that period, have not prevented the erection of new buildings to a greater amount an-

eſtimate the extenſive villages, which within a few years, to the depopulation of the country, have been created in the vicinity of the Britiſh metropolis.

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nually than that which I have ſtated, and therefore it is probable that the number of habitations in Amſterdam exceeds rather than otherwiſe thirty-two thouſand houſes. This, at an average of ſeven and a half perſons to each houſe, which has been uſed by eminent calculators to eſtimate the population of London, and may with confidence be applied to Amſterdam, where the houſes in general are ſpacious and lofty, and accommodate three or four families, makes the number of inhabitants in the Dutch metropolis to amount to two hundred and forty thouſand perſons. The ſtrangers who reſort to Amſterdam are not included in this calculation, but they cannot with probability be eſtimated at leſs than ten thouſand; ſo that it may ſafely be concluded, two hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls inhabit this great city.

With a population ſo large, compoſed of various nations and languages, where the extremes of opulence and miſery are to be found, it is to beſtow the higheſt praiſe on the diſcipline, regularity, and good order of

Amſterdam,

Amſterdam, on the excellence of its municipal inſtitutions, and the humanity of the laws by which it is governed, ſimply to repeat, what I before mentioned, that not more than one criminal a year, in this great city, ſuffers by the hand of the public executioner, and the number of perſons confined in priſon for inſolvency rarely exceeds thirty*.

The police of Amſterdam remains almoſt the ſame as it was before the revolution,

* Colquhoun (in his Treatiſe on the Police of the Britiſh Metropolis, edit. 4th. p. 393) eſtimates the number of perſons who are annually arreſted in Middleſex alone at between ſix and ſeven thouſand. He does not give us the number of debtors confined in London, but on an average I believe they exceed eight hundred. For the honour of the Britiſh metropolis, I hope, and am moſt firmly perſuaded, that many of the ſtatements of this writer are unfounded or exaggerated. In a caſe where eaſy and correct information might be obtained (as the annual number of arreſts in Middleſex) I ſhould however ſuppoſe his authority was to be relied upon; but where his calculations are built upon conjecture, he ſwells his catalogues of the vicious or unfortunate to a mercileſs extent.

except

except that the names of the magiſtrates are changed for modern republican appellations; and certainly to have attempted any alterations of magnitude in a ſyſtem which ſo effectually provided for the ſecurity of the public, by protecting the peaceful, and coercing the criminal, would have been dangerouſly preſumptuous. The watchmen of the night are not, as in London, decrepid infirm old men, but ſtout vigorous fellows, who conſtantly walk two together, the more readily to apprehend offenders, or to report any negligence in each other's conduct, or breach of truſt. Theſe men are armed with a ſword, and a ſtick like a conſtable's ſtaff with a hook at the end of it. They are, however, ſeverely prohibited, unleſs in caſes of obſtinate and dangerous reſiſtance, to uſe their ſwords, and I conjecture it ſeldom happens that their ſtaffs are not found ſufficient weapons of terror and offence. They alſo carry with them a wooden clapper, with which they make a fearful noiſe during the whole of the night, to ſhew that they are attentive to their duty; and if any diſturbance happens

happens which makes it neceſſary to give an alarm, this inſtrument is uſed to call aſſiſtance.

To prevent the miſchiefs of fire, and for other uſeful purpoſes, ſentinels are nightly placed on the ſteeples and principal towers of the city, who ſound the half hours with a trumpet, and if a houſe is diſcovered to be on fire, give an alarm, which is ſoon ſpread over the city, by hanging out a large lantern from the ſide where the conflagration is perceived. Fires ſeldom do much damage in Amſterdam, from the abundant ſupply of water which is every-where to be obtained, and the celerity with which an alarm is given and aſſiſtance received. In addition to the watchmen and fire ſentinels, four companies of the city militia mount guard nightly in Amſterdam. The city militia is divided into five battalions of twelve companies each, ſo that the rotation of duty comes in fifteen days. Before the revolution, any perſon who choſe to provide a ſubſtitute, which could be done at a reaſonable price, was exempt from ſerving in this corps;

but ſince the overthrow of ariſtocracy, the wealthieſt individuals, as well as the pooreſt, have been obliged to contribute their ſervices to the general ſecurity. This regulation has not affected ſo many as might be ſuppoſed; for, before it was in force, avarice, which reigns in Amſterdam in its moſt diſguſting forms, induced many rather to ſerve perſonally in the militia, than be at the expence of furniſhing a ſubſtitute; and ſome wealthy and reſpectable individuals of patriotic feelings, from public ſpirit and a right ſenſe of their duty, enrolled themſelves in this uſeful body.

Theſe different guards abundantly provide for the nightly ſecurity of Amſterdam, and are the means of preventing many depredations and atrocities.

The Raſp-houſe and Spin-houſe, places of confinement for the reformation and correction of male and female offenders, are open to every one's inſpection, on the payment of an inconſiderable fee for admiſſion *,

* Two ſtivers, or about two pence.

which

which goes to the emolument of the keeper of the priſon. In the Raſp-houſe, the employment of the priſoners is to ſaw or raſp log-wood and other woods for the dyers; and the quantity of labour daily required of them amounts to fifty pounds of raſpings, which, if the men are ſtrong and diligent, they complete early in the afternoon. The Raſp-houſe is a quadrangular building, three ſtories high, with a court-yard in the middle, which I found extremely dirty, and much incommoded with piles of wood. It contains only men priſoners, and the number of perſons in confinement did not exceed ſeventy. The moſt atrocious criminals are confined on the ground-floor, two in a cell, with an open window guarded with iron bars, where they ſleep and work; and notwithſtanding the labour they had to perform, they were in general heavily fettered. All the men worked without their ſhirts, and I obſerved that ſome of their backs were marked with ſtripes, which had been inflicted with no ſparing hand. When I ſay that their labours are concluded early in the afternoon, I do

not mean thence to insinuate that their work is light: the contrary is the case. But the prisoners work hard in the early part of the day, in order to procure themselves in the afternoon an intermission from toil. Formerly, those who would not work were confined in an apartment into which water was caused to flow in such quantities, that incessant pumping was necessary to preserve the persons so shut up from drowning; and they thereby became reconciled to the less perilous and disagreeable labour of rasping wood. But this barbarous mode of obliging criminals to work has been discontinued, since an unhappy wretch, driven to desperation by his situation, permitted the water to overflow him, and was drowned. Corporal punishment, solitary confinement, and abridgement of food, are the methods which are now used to subdue the refractory; and I fear they are exercised with a rigour which never fails speedily to produce the intended effect.

The prisoners in general appeared emaciated through confinement, unwholesome air,

air, ſcanty diet, harſh treatment, and ſevere labour. Their cells were extremely dirty, and their bedding, ſeamen's hammocks, in a miſerable condition.

The length of their confinement varies according to the complexion of their crimes, from one month to five years; or in caſes of peculiar atrocity, and hardened offenders, the period of impriſonment is extended to ſeven, fourteen, or more years; and ſometimes, though it rarely happens, a criminal is ſentenced to confinement here for life.

Of this laſt deſcription of priſoners, the Raſp-houſe contained only one. The moral turpitude of this man's crime was great; but, reaſoning from human principles and weakneſs, I am inclined to ſuſpect the rigour of his puniſhment exceeded the meaſure of his offence. He was once a merchant of character and reputation, and guardian of the funds for the maintenance and relief of orphans in the city of Amſterdam. In this office he betrayed his truſt, and embezzled the ſum of ſixty thouſand florins. His offence was diſcovered; a proſecution

was inſtituted againſt him, and the fact being clearly proved, he was for this breach of confidence, to the general ſatisfaction of the public, condemned to perpetual impriſonment. In England his crime would have amounted to no more than a felony, within the benefit of clergy, puniſhable with tranſportation or impriſonment for a definite term of years. The violation of a truſt which ſhould have been held peculiarly ſacred, was certainly a moral aggravation of his guilt; but it ſhould have been conſidered, that in proportion as confidence was repoſed in him, ſo were his temptations to abuſe that confidence increaſed; and that circumſtance, which, on a deſultory view of the ſubject, ſeems to magnify the crime, will on cool reflection be found moſt eſſentially to diminiſh it. The countenance of this plunderer of the ſuſtenance of orphans was that of a very ordinary villain. He was at large in the court-yard, without irons, and did not ſeem much depreſſed by his ſituation, though his fellow-priſoners treated him as a criminal whoſe guilt ſo flagrantly ſurpaſſed theirs, that

that they pointed him out to me, through the medium of the *valet de place*, who acted the part of an interpreter, as a wretch deſerving the ſtrongeſt execration.

Many of the priſoners in the Raſp-houſe were not at work; and I learnt that this exemption from labour was to be purchaſed. On the whole, I was greatly diſappointed in this priſon. The Raſp-houſe of Amſterdam had been mentioned to me, by ſeveral perſons in Holland, as an almoſt perfect model for a houſe of correction; and I had read in various books, relative to the United Provinces, a favourable account of it. But in every particular my expectations were deceived. The place was dirty, and its diſcipline cruel. Thoſe indeed who could afford to bribe the humanity of the keeper were treated with tenderneſs, but the indigent priſoner, a wretch probably whom extreme want and pinching famine had driven to the commiſſion of crimes, was waſted with ſevere toil, and jaundiced with continual ſeverity.

Over the gate which leads to the Raſp-houſe, is an ill-executed wooden figure of Chaſtiſement, brandiſhing a whip in her hand, with two offenders chained at her feet, and various inſtruments of puniſhment and torture within her reach. The inſcription in Latin beneath expreſſes the neceſſity and virtue of coercing and puniſhing the criminal *.

The Spin-houſe, or Bridewell, for the correction of female offenders, is an inſtitution ſimilar to the Raſp-houſe, and contains an equal number of priſoners, or I believe generally rather more. The employments of the women vary according to their abilities, or the pleaſure of the magiſtrates. Diſagreeable taſks, as picking oakham, &c. are aſſigned to the moſt profligate and hardened offenders, while thoſe who have been committed for ſlighter cauſes are employed on needle-work. The ſuperintendance of the Spin-houſe is properly entruſted to a matron,

* Virtutis eſt domare quæ cuncti pavent.

with

with female assistants; and, on the whole, it appears to be under good regulations. The prisoners are chiefly composed of women who live by prostitution; and they are clean and neat in their persons; those who have not decent clothes of their own, wearing a kind of prison uniform. A woman may be confined for life in the Spin-house, but it is not tenanted at present by any one for so dreadful a period. Few are sentenced for more than a twelvemonth's imprisonment; and on representations to the magistrates of their good behaviour, they are frequently liberated before the expiration of that term. A small fee is paid at this place for admission, as at the Rasp-house; but I believe it is appropriated here to the benefit of the prisoners. The female convicts are healthier and more cheerful in their looks than the male, and their treatment and accommodations are altogether better.

From the prisons of Amsterdam the transition is easy to the licensed brothels of the city, the nurseries and hot-beds which bring

bring vice to maturity. Proſtitutes are not permitted to walk in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, for the purpoſes of their wretched trade, but there are in various parts of the city muſic rooms, as they are called, under the ſanction of the magiſtrates, who draw an annual revenue from them, which are nightly open for the reception of the diſſolute of both ſexes. At theſe places of licentious reſort, ſingular as it may be deemed, the ſedate and the innocent mingle with the wanton and the depraved. A reputable tradeſman takes his family to one of theſe places of amuſement, as readily as a perſon of the ſame claſs in London would do to the theatres or any other public entertainment. The early part of the evening is ſpent in ſmoking, drinking, or dancing to the ſound of three or four miſerable fiddles, and towards midnight the carouſals begin, when the moſt flagrant indecencies are permitted and encouraged. I cannot comment on ſuch inſtitutions. It ſhould, however, be ſtated, that the number

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of proſtitutes in Amſterdam is ſmall when compared with the population of the place, and the eſtimate of females who live by proſtitution in moſt of the great cities of Europe.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.

Places of religious worſhip in Amſterdam.—The new and old churches.—The Portugueſe ſynagogue.—Number of Jews in Amſterdam.—State of religion.—Toleration.—Quakers.—Charitable inſtitutions in Amſterdam.—Vaccine inoculation.—Dutch theatre.—Account of the principal female performer.—State of the Dutch ſtage.—Old-faſhioned female dreſs.—Women of Holland.—Inebriety imputed to the ſtadtholder—To his majeſty.—A caricature print.—Ideas entertained in Holland reſpecting the perſon who attempted to aſſaſſinate the king.—Dreſs of children.—Cuſtoms obſerved with regard to lying-in women.

Amſterdam, November, 1800.

THE temples of religious worſhip in Amſterdam are numerous, and belong to all ſects and perſuaſions. The new church of the reformed religion, near the ſtadthouſe, is viſited

viſited by ſtrangers, as being the mauſoleum where Dutchmen diſtinguiſhed for their valour or endowments repoſe. In it are monuments erected by national gratitude to the memory of Admiral de Ruyter, of whom it is inſcribed with truth, "intaminatis fulget honoribus;" to the memory of Van Galen, an admiral who fell in a combat againſt the Engliſh; and among other erections to record the ſervices of naval officers, is a monument in honour of Captain Bentinck, who died in conſequence of the wounds which he received in the engagement off the Dogger Bank. Vondel, a Dutch poet who flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth century, is interred here, and a handſome monument proclaims the eſtimation in which he is held by his countrymen. He was a voluminous writer, and few kinds of poetry eſcaped his pen. He lived to the great age of ninety-one years, and experienced during his life-time a poet's fate—indigence and neglect.

In the old church is an organ little inferior in ſize to the famous inſtrument of Haerlem, and almoſt equal to it for the power and harmony

harmony of its tones. The pulpit is admired for its carving, and the windows for their ſtained glaſs repreſenting various hiſtorical and religious ſtories. One of them, perhaps the beſt, and certainly the moſt intereſting, deſcribes Philip IV. of Spain, in the habiliments of his regal dignity, preſenting to the deputies of Holland the treaty by which he acknowledges the independence of the United Provinces. This church alſo contains monuments erected by the city of Amſterdam, or the ſtates-general, in honour of various naval and military commanders, whoſe ſervices have thus called forth the gratitude of the republic.

Such is the wiſe and liberal toleration allowed by the government of Holland, that ſcarcely a religious community is to be named, which has not ſome place of public aſſembly or worſhip in Amſterdam. The Portugueſe ſynagogue is perhaps the nobleſt temple in which the jewiſh worſhip has been celebrated, ſince the diſperſion of that fanatic people. It is a lofty, ſpacious building, fitted for the purpoſes of religion, according

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to the ordinances of the Moſaic law, and containing alſo apartments for the uſe of the rabbins, who daily attend to expound the Hebrew law and the Thalmud. The Jews of Germany and Holland, whoſe creed varies from that of their Portugueſe brethren, have alſo a noble ſynagogue, and in different quarters of the city there are other temples where the ſuperſtitions of the Hebrew worſhip are celebrated. The number of Jews in Amſterdam is ſuppoſed to amount to eighty thouſand ſouls: I know not on what calculation this eſtimate is founded, but I am inclined to believe, it rather exceeds, than falls ſhort of, reality.

Beſide their commodious temples of worſhip, the Jews of Amſterdam have a theatre, where dramatic pieces are performed in the Hebrew language. This place of entertainment unfortunately was not open, or I ſhould have viſited it with much curioſity; nor could I obtain any information reſpecting either the nature of the pieces which are acted in it, or the performers. The external appearance of the building is as mean as can

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be imagined, and I ſhould ſuppoſe it was reſorted to only by the loweſt claſſes of the Jewiſh race.

The revolution has not produced any changes in the eccleſiaſtical policy of the United Provinces. The miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church, that of the reformer of Geneva, though they are almoſt without exception attached to the old government, and conſequently hoſtile to the new, continue to receive their regular ſalaries from the ſtate, and perform unmoleſted the duties of their ſacred function. The churches and other places dedicated to pious uſes, are well attended on days of public worſhip. That day which the chriſtian world has peculiarly appropriated to the ſervice of religion, is kept in Amſterdam with becoming ſolemnity and obſervance; and I believe there is, in general, leſs indifference on religious ſubjects in Holland, than in any part of Europe. There is not, however, much zeal. The happy toleration which all the ſectaries enjoy, and the wiſe ſecluſion of the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church from any concern

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in the government of the republic, which would give them a dangerous influence as well as an invidious diſtinction, are the preponderating cauſes which have checked the growth of religious diſſenſions in Holland.

Since the firſt eſtabliſhment of the independence of the United Provinces, the repoſe of the republic has ſcarcely ever been diſturbed by diſputes concerning religion. The ſynods of Dort have not indeed often been diſtinguiſhed for the moderation of their ſentiments, but the reluctance of the government to adopt their religious animoſities, repreſſed the ſpirit of perſecution and theological rancour which they evinced.

The republic early derived manifold advantages from the liberal ſyſtem of toleration which it adopted. That they might enjoy in tranquillity their religious opinions, and ſerve God after the dictates of their own hearts, multitudes, haraſſed by perſecution in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England, fled into Holland, where they were hoſpitably received, and materially contributed by their induſtry and virtues to

advance the proſperity of the republic. They brought with them a large portion of liberality of ſentiment, and, from perſonal ſuffering and experience, a determined averſion to every ſpecies of religious perſecution. The ſentiments of moderation, which perhaps they at firſt adopted through neceſſity, or to place in a diſadvantageous view the conduct of their triumphant adverſaries, became in courſe of time fundamental maxims, increaſing in ſolidity and firmneſs as the lapſe of years wore away the aſperities of perſonal reſentments.

The reſpectable ſect of Quakers is leſs numerous in Holland than I ſhould have expected for a religious community whoſe manners and habits ſeem ſo ſuitable to the genius of the Dutch nation. The Anabaptiſt congregations are large, and diſperſed over all parts of the republic. The members of this perſuaſion have always ſhewn themſelves warmly attached to civil and religious liberty, and the weight of their influence has conſtantly been thrown into the patriotic ſcale.

Amſterdam

Amſterdam abounds in charitable inſtitutions for the indiſcriminate benefit of the indigent of all religious perſuaſions. Into the Foundling-hoſpital are equally received the unhappy offspring of Chriſtians and Jews; but they are all educated in the calviniſtic faith. This hoſpital for the reception and maintenance of deſtitute children, uſually afforded before the revolution an aſylum to near two thouſand deſerted infants, but its funds have ſuffered conſiderably from that event, and the number of objects which it ſupports is conſequenly reduced. The Roman-catholics, the Lutherans, the Anabaptiſts, and even the Jews, have orphan-houſes for the deſtitute children of their ſects: that which belongs to the Roman-catholics is the nobleſt building, and enjoys the ampleſt revenues.

As a ſubject connected with hoſpitals and charitable foundations, it may not be improper here to mention, that the cow-pox, which time will probably prove to be one of the moſt valuable diſcoveries in the art of preventing diſeaſe ever made, has met

with as favourable a reception in Holland from the faculty, as it has in England. A few bigotted perſons, with whom ſuperſtitious women and weak men join, object to the cow-pox inoculation, becauſe they ſay it introduces a beſtial diſorder into the human ſyſtem; but the liberal and enlightened part of the medical tribe eſpouſe with warmth this new method of avoiding a loathſome and dangerous diſtemper, and their practice has been uniformly ſucceſsful. The diſeaſe has been known for time immemorial to the peaſants of Friesland, in which province the greateſt quantities of butter and cheeſe are yearly produced, and the reſult of various enquiries among them have been uniformly in favour of the cow-pox.

The belief of its utility and efficacy is ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in Holland, that in the Foundling-hoſpital of Amſterdam, and other charitable inſtitutions where young children are received, the old mode of inoculation is exploded, and the vaccine infection ſubſtituted in its ſtead. This departure from the old practice of ſurgery was not made,

made, until the consent and approbation of the governors and curators of these benevolent establishments had been previously obtained, and therefore it may be concluded that the vaccine inoculation is extensively adopted in private families.

The Dutch theatre in Amsterdam is a building about the size of the summer playhouse in the Haymarket. It can seldom boast of a numerous audience; but whether this proceeds from a want of taste in the Dutch for dramatic representations, or the calamities of the republic have injured public spectacles and entertainments as well as the fortunes of individuals, I cannot determine. Though plays are only performed in the Dutch theatre three times a week, and a favourite piece was acted on the evening I attended it, scarcely half a dozen of boxes were occupied by company, nor was the audience in the pit and gallery proportionably much more numerous. The house was ill lighted; and it did not appear to have been painted for some considerable time. On one side of the stage is a figure of the

tragic, and on the other of the comic muſe, which are ſpiritedly executed, and produce a good effect.

The play was a tragedy founded on a domeſtic ſtory, and by no means deſtitute of ſtriking incident or feeling, though perhaps ſometimes too declamatory for the genuine march of paſſion. The performance of the actors in general was highly reſpectable, and we were much gratified in particular with the acting of Madame Kaphuyze, the Mrs. Siddons of the Dutch ſtage, who was the heroine of the piece. This lady poſſeſſes moſt of the requiſites which are neceſſary to form an excellent actreſs. She is tall and well formed in her perſon; and her features are beautiful and expreſſive. Her voice is powerful, and capable of all the variety of tones which different paſſions require. She is ſpoken of as a woman not only of great judgment in whatever relates to her profeſſion, but with reſpect to literature in general as a perſon of ſingular acquirements and knowledge. Madame Kaphuyze is thought by her admirers equally

equally to excel in the diſplay of violent and pathetic emotions, to feign with equal correctneſs the wild phrenſies of madneſs, and the ſolber melancholy of deſpair. She was happieſt, I thought, in the delivery of thoſe ſentiments where tenderneſs and delicate feeling prevail; and of ſuch a caſt chiefly was the character in which we ſaw her perform. Her action is chaſte, but never languid, and always correct, without any appearance of ſtudy or conſtraint. On her firſt entrance on the ſtage, ſhe was welcomed with univerſal applauſe, a teſtimony of public favour which was beſtowed on no other performer, and every paſſage which ſhe delivered with more than common energy was as flatteringly received. Madame Kaphuyze does not exceed the age of thirty, and for ſeveral years ſhe has been the favourite of the Amſterdam ſtage. A Dutch lady, who accompanied us to the theatre, preferred her to Mrs. Siddons, whom ſhe had ſeen in her principal characters, and of whoſe merits ſhe ſpoke with juſt and critical admiration; but we thought her obviouſly inferior to the great

actreſs of the Engliſh ſtage, though undoubtedly poſſeſſed of a high degree of excellence.

One ſcene of the tragedy would have excited the indignation or laughter of an Engliſh audience. A character of conſiderable conſequence in the piece is diſcovered on the ſtage with a lighted pipe of tobacco in his mouth, which he ſmokes at his eaſe, delivering, in the interval between each puff, a ſoliloquy. The Dutch audience not only tolerated, but applauded this incident.

Nearly all the plays which have appeared in Germany or England, from the rapid pen of Kotzebue, have been exhibited on the Dutch ſtage; and the theatres of Holland are alſo enriched with faithful tranſlations of the beſt dramatic pieces which exiſt in the Engliſh or French languages. Nor have there been wanting dramatic authors of the Dutch nation, whoſe works have been favourably received on the ſtage. The public taſte for dramatic repreſentation in Holland has, like the public taſte in England, been vitiated by the numerous pieces which have been

been borrowed from the German ſtage, pieces the moral tendency of which is bad, the feeling that they exhibit forced, and in which the place of nature is uſurped by a creature of the poet's imagination, which he denominates ſenſibility *.

As at Rotterdam, which remark I had before occaſion to make, the concerts are the beſt attended places of amuſements in the capital of Holland. They are uſually performed either at the *Felix Meritis*, or the French theatre. At the latter place, on a Sunday evening, which is the faſhionable day in Amſterdam for this entertainment, we heard a good concert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. The company was numerous, and compoſed of the moſt opulent and polite perſons of both ſexes in the city. The performances of the evening, the ſingers, and the muſicians, were ſuitable to the audience. We were dazzled, as on a former occaſion

* This ſenſibility is a kind of defenſive armour for the delicate fibres of the heart, which, true to nature, ſhrink from the ſlighteſt hoſtile contact.

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in the ſame place, and afterwards at the Dutch theatre, with the profuſion of diamonds which the ladies wore.

Some girls clad in the dreſs which prevailed in Holland a century or two ago, with their hair bound cloſe to their heads, and covered with a ſcanty unornamented cap, ſuch as the female quakers wear in England; with large plates of thin gold projecting from each ſide of their foreheads, and a plate on the middle; with ponderous ear-rings and necklaces of the ſame metal; with gowns of thick ſilk, heavily embroidered, and waiſts of unnatural length and rotundity; formed a ſtriking contraſt with the females arrayed in the taſteful elegancies of modern faſhion. They were daughters of the ancient ſtock of burghers, and adhered, probably with ſome tincture of affectation, uninfluenced by modern refinements and variations of female dreſs, to the uncouth habiliments of their anceſtors.

The women of Holland in general are lovely rather than beautiful. For the moſt part they are well formed in their perſons; their

their complexions are fair, their eyes full and ſparkling, and their features bold and regular. But their countenances are inanimate; they want that caſt and expreſſion of feature, without which, to my ideas, no high degree of beauty can exiſt, and with which an ordinary face charms. I ſpeak, I ſhould obſerve, of women whoſe graces the heats of five-and-twenty ſummers, or the rigors of as many winters, have not impaired; for after that period of life the Dutch ladies loſe their attractions; the roſy bluſh of youth forſakes them, and their fine complexions aſſume a ſallow autumnal hue. Women are ſhorter lived in Holland than men, but from what cauſe I cannot pretend to account: the contrary is the caſe in England; and the reaſon is obvious, becauſe women lead more regular and temperate lives. There are few, perhaps no inſtances of what can be called extreme longevity in Holland; and the fault is rather in the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, than in any want of precautions in the Dutch to protract their lives to the utmoſt date. They

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are in general temperate in their diet, and the uſe of ſpirituous liquors and wines does not prevail to near ſo great an extent in Holland as in England. A drunken perſon is rarely to be ſeen; and that vice is accounted infamouſly diſhonourable, if frequently practiſed.

Among the perſonal faults which I have heard imputed to the ſtadtholder, after imbecility of underſtanding, he has uſually been accuſed of a paſſion for the pleaſures of intoxication; and it is ſaid that during the latter part of his government he was ſeldom ſober. Much credit, however, is not to be attached to ſuch rumours, and certainly the Prince of Orange does not carry marks of inebriety on his face. The lethargic diſpoſition of the ſtadtholder has not been ſeized by the wit or malice of party in Holland, as a ſubject of ridicule againſt the fugitive prince. His perſonal infirmities diſappear before more ſubſtantial objects of irritation and reſentment.

The Dutch in general are well acquainted with anecdotes of the court and domeſtic parties

parties in England: but they confidently attribute to the king a vice so well known to be contrary to his diſpoſition and habits, that calumny only could have invented, and the moſt virulent animoſity received, the accuſation. They maintain that his majeſty indulges ſo freely in the pleaſures of the bottle, as frequently to be incapable of attending to public affairs; and the acts of the Britiſh government which they moſt loudly condemn, they ſuppoſe to originate from this pernicious propenſity in the chief magiſtrate of the empire. The only caricature print which I ſaw in Holland, reſpecting Britiſh perſonages (except an obſolete one relative to Lord Malmſbury's fruitleſs journies to Paris and Liſle, and the rout of the Engliſh and Ruſſian troops in North Holland), repreſented the king aſleep, apparently in the laſt ſtage of intoxication, with bottles and glaſſes before him, and at a diſtance Mr. Pitt, the Emperor of Germany, and other potentates and princes, in hoſtile array againſt Bonaparte. Mr. Pitt is made to encourage the confederates, by ſaying, "Fight on:—

George

George will pay for all." It may be gathered from hence, that inebriety is accounted by the Dutch a vice highly pernicious and diſhonourable.

I had frequently to anſwer enquiries, particularly of French officers, reſpecting the attempt made by Hadfield on the life of the king. The accounts of that tranſaction which had reached Holland were imperfect; and from the acquittal of the culprit it was concluded, that the king's life had been in leſs imminent danger than it really was. The conduct of the Engliſh court of juſtice during the trial of Hadfield had given extremely favourable impreſſions of its equity, and his acquitment was regarded ſomething like a phenomenon in the hiſtory of modern tribunals. It was conſidered as a conſummate act of juſtice. The ſubſequent confinement of Hadfield they regarded in a proper view, not as an act of puniſhment or revenge, but as a neceſſary precaution againſt any future miſchiefs which his inſanity might lead him to attempt.

The Dutch, in general, are to be praiſed for

for their temperance, and the extreme impropriety which they attach to the vice of drunkenneſs. A woman who ſhould be guilty of this fault, did ſhe belong to the higher walks of life, would be ſhunned and deſpiſed by her acquaintance; and if ſhe moved in a lower ſphere, the magiſtrates would think her a fit object for the correction and diſcipline of the Spin-houſe.

As a ſubject not unconnected with the foregoing obſervations reſpecting health and temperance, I may be permitted to animadvert on the prepoſterous management of children in Holland. The air of the country is conſidered ſo prejudicial to tender infants, that for the firſt two or three months of their exiſtence they are not ſuffered to be taken abroad; and during the period of their confinement, the windows of their apartments are kept inviolably ſhut. Their dreſs chiefly conſiſts of flannel rollers, which are girt ſo tightly about their bodies, that the infant has not the power to move its limbs; and theſe ligatures are further covered with an ample flannel wrapper, which is bound

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three or four times round the body of the child, and ſecurely faſtened with pins at its feet. Theſe ligatures are removed, and the flannels changed, according to the circumſtances of the parents; but whether the offſpring of opulent perſons or poor, the uſe of water and ablutions are rigorouſly denied to infants. For many months the under dreſs of children conſiſts entirely of woollen garments; and when they are permitted to go abroad, the greateſt care is taken, by wrapping them up in a flannel mantle, which covers their heads, to prevent them from reſpiring the free air.

Thus abſurdly managed, Dutch infants are ſickly, ſqualid objects; and the ruddy tints of health never appear on their cheeks till they are liberated from the reſtraints of the nurſery. Children, particularly females, are frequently indulged in the pernicious uſe of chauffepies or ſtoves, and this cuſtom invariably gives them an unwholeſome, diſeaſed appearance.

I muſt not omit to mention a practice which I believe is peculiar to Holland. When a wo-

a woman is brought to bed, a bulletin is daily fixed to her houſe for a fortnight, or longer if ſhe continues ſo ill as to excite the ſolicitude of her friends, which contains a ſtatement of the health of the mother and the child. This bulletin is faſtened to a board ornamented with lace, according to the circumſtances of the perſon lying in, and ſerves to anſwer the enquiries of her friends, and to prevent any unneceſſary noiſe being made near the door of the indiſpoſed perſon. We ſaw at Leyden the moſt of theſe boards ornamented with lace, and there learnt their meaning. When a perſon of conſequence is dangerouſly ill, a bulletin of health is generally affixed to their houſe, to ſatisfy the numerous enquiries that are, or are ſuppoſed to be, made after them; but, unleſs it is a child-bed caſe, the board, to which the bulletin is paſted, is unornamented with lace.

LETTER XIV.

Attachment of Amſterdam to the cauſe of liberty.—The patriots diſcharged from their employments in 1787.*—Emigrations from Holland.—The majority of the Dutch nation averſe to the war with France.—Meaſures to ſuppreſs popular meetings.—An inundation of the country propoſed.—The citizens of Amſterdam remonſtrate againſt that deſign.—Impriſonment of the patriots.—The ſtadtholderian party ſtruck with conſternation at the progreſs of the French.—Entrance of General Pichegru into Amſterdam.—Proclamations from the revolutionary committee of Amſterdam, and from the repreſentatives of the French people.—The regents of Amſterdam diſplaced.—Proviſional repreſentatives of Holland.—P. Paulus choſen preſident.—Declaration of the rights of man.*

Amſterdam, November, 1800.

FROM the earlieſt periods of the republic to the preſent times, the city of Amſterdam has

has been diſtinguiſhed for its invariable and faithful attachment to the cauſe of liberty. This paſſion has neither been enfeebled by commerce, nor debauched by wealth. It glowed with equal ardour when, in 1650, the burghers of Amſterdam repulſed William II. one of the moſt ambitious princes of the houſe of Orange, from the gates of their city; and when, in 1787, their deſcendants reluctantly ſubmitted, obliged by imperious neceſſity, to the terms impoſed on them by William V. ſupported by the arms of Pruſſia, and the intrigues and menaces of Great Britain.

The ſucceſsful termination for the Orange party of the troubles which agitated Holland in 1787, ſubdued for a ſeaſon the ſpirit of liberty in Amſterdam. The moſt eminent patriots were diſcharged from their employments, and declared incapable of ever ſerving the ſtate *; and their offices were filled

* The Princeſs of Orange, who directed the negociations between the city of Amſterdam and the Duke of Brunſwick, who commanded the Pruſſian army, declared,

filled with men entirely devoted to the ſtadtholder. On the ruin of their cauſe, many perſons of great abilities and integrity, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their reſolute oppoſition to the ambitious meaſures of the Prince of Orange, fearing that their perſonal ſafeties would be endangered if they remained in Holland, or unable to brook the triumph of their adverſaries, from whoſe reſentments they had much to apprehend, and nothing to hope from their modera-

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in a tone rather of inſult than of clemency, that ſhe ſpared the lives of the guilty through the generoſity of her diſpoſition, but required that they ſhould be for ever incapable of holding any public employment. Among the perſons thus diſmiſſed were, Meſſrs. Block, Cammerling, De Witt, Toulon, and Van Foreeſt, deputies of Holland; Coſterus, burgomaſter of Woerden; De Lange, regent of Gonda; Giſlaer, a man of uncommon eloquence and abilities, penſioner of Dort; Zeeberg and Van Caſteelen, penſioners of Haerlem; Van Berkel and Viſſcher, penſioners of Amſterdam; Kempenaar, counſellor of Alkmaer; Abbema, Bicker, Van Leyden, and De Jonge, members of the regency of Amſterdam. Moſt of theſe citizens, who have ſurvived the revolution, occupy diſtinguiſhed ſituations under the new government, and enjoy the confidence and approbation of their countrymen.

tion,

tion, quitted their country, and fled into France *. The voluntary exile of ſome of their moſt determined, active, and enlightened opponents, facilitated the views of the ſtadtholderian party; and magiſtrates were appointed throughout the republic, and particularly in Amſterdam, on whoſe devotion to its intereſts the houſe of Orange could ſecurely rely. The government of the United Provinces was ſoon modelled according to the wiſhes of the ſtadtholder; and the ſucceſs with which he had vanquiſhed his enemies, procured him, among the illiterate and unthinking, a ſhort-lived popularity.

The events of the French revolution materially changed the ſituation of affairs in Holland. The Dutch patriots had always

* Among other fugitives of rank and conſideration who at this period quitted Holland, were General Daendals and Admiral de Winter. On the breaking-out of the French revolution, they were employed in the republican armies; and Daendals bore the rank of general of diviſion, and De Winter that of general of brigade, in the army which conquered Holland.

looked to the French government, whether monarchical or republican, for ſupport againſt the encroachments of the ſtadtholder, and the malign influence which the cabinet of Great Britain poſſeſſed in the councils of the United Provinces. A firm and intimate alliance with France was conſidered by that party as the only means by which the honour of the republic could be retrieved, and its affairs extricated from the pernicious adminiſtration of an individual, under the immediate control and direction of a rival government.

On the other hand, the ſtadtholder, who had invariably been averſe to any connection with France, beheld with increaſed ſentiments of averſion the old government of that country aboliſhed, and a ſyſtem from which he had more to apprehend eſtabliſhed in its place. The ſtates-general, the ſovereigns of the republic, though much at the devotion of the Prince of Orange, did not entirely enter into his views on this ſubject, and cautiouſly avoided a war with France, until the arrogance and imprudence of the convention

convention had rendered hoſtilities inevitable.

The partiſans of the ſtadtholder, and the creatures of the government, entered with alacrity into a war, which favoured their views, and promiſed to gratify their reſentments. But the majority of the Dutch nation, unperſuaded of the neceſſity of hoſtilities, or fearful of the conſequences, coolly acquieſced in, rather than approved of, the violent meaſures of the government.

The more numerous part of the citizens of Amſterdam were decidedly averſe, from animoſity to the ſtadtholder, and other cauſes connected with their diſlike of the Prince of Orange, to the war with France; and beheld firſt with ſecret ſatisfaction, and afterwards with open exultation, the victorious progreſs of the armies of that republic. But the magiſtrates were entirely devoted to the ſtadtholder; and their authority was employed to ſuppreſs the public voice. To prevent popular meetings, at which the wiſhes of the people might have been loudly expreſſed, an obſolete law was revived, by

which the citizens were forbid to aſſemble for the diſcuſſion of public affairs, in a ſeaſon of national diſtreſs. This ordinance was iſſued when the French were on the frontiers of the republic, and at a time when the moſt deſperate meaſures, for the ſecurity of the United Provinces, were deliberated on by the ſtadtholder and his party.

In the month of October, 1794, when affairs were drawing near to a criſis, the ſtadtholder, accompanied by the Duke of York, repaired to Amſterdam, to concert, it was thought, with the regency of that city, the terrible meaſure of preventing the further progreſs of the French arms by an inundation of the country, as had been executed with ſucceſs in 1672, when Lewis XIV. with a numerous and well-appointed army, was maſter of Utrecht, and threatened Amſterdam. The regency of the city, alarmed at the progreſs of the French, and corrupted or intimidated by the ſtadtholder, would probably have acceded to the inundation propoſed, had not the burghers of Amſterdam received intimation that ſuch a meaſure

ſure was in agitation, and expreſſed their reſolute determination to oppoſe its execution by force, ſhould the government raſhly proceed with their deſign.

In defiance of the proclamation by which popular meetings were prohibited, a numerous and formidable body of the citizens of Amſterdam aſſembled to take into conſideration the ſituation of the country, and to preſent a petition, or rather remonſtrance, to the council of regency againſt the propoſed inundation, and the admiſſion of foreign troops into Amſterdam, which was a plan connected with the former meaſure. The remonſtrants, in ſpite of the endeavours of the military, and civil magiſtrates, to diſperſe them, aſſembled with great regularity and order in the ſquare before the ſtadthouſe, and deputed three perſons, one of whom was Viſſcher, the diſmiſſed penſioner *, to preſent their ſtrong, but reſpectful petition to the regents. The magi-

* Diſmiſſed in 1787. See note, p. 276.

ſtrates

ſtrates refuſed at firſt to receive the petition, as it was contrary to their ordinance for the people to aſſemble; but the fear of exaſperating the immenſe and irreſiſtible multitude—which filled the avenues of the ſtadthouſe, the ſquare, and the adjacent ſtreets, and maintained, during the conference of their deputies with the regents, a profound and terrible ſilence—by any unſeaſonable act of authority, ſubdued the *legal ſcruples* of the magiſtrates, and the remonſtrance was read. The anſwer to the petitioners briefly ſtated, that the queſtion of the expediency of inundating the country, to prevent the further progreſs of the French army, had not yet been diſcuſſed in the council, and no meaſures were taken reſpecting the admiſſion of foreign troops into Amſterdam. With this reply the citizens were ſatisfied, and quietly diſperſed, leaving, however, on the minds of the magiſtrates an impreſſion of danger and reſiſtance, which probably materially influenced their future operations.

The regents of Amſterdam, finding themſelves

ſelves too weak for the execution of the important meaſures which they propoſed, diſplayed the extent of their diſappointment and indignation by the rigorous ſteps which they adopted towards the perſons who had taken an active part reſpecting the petition. Viſſcher and his colleagues who preſented the remonſtrance were privately apprehended, and ſentenced to ſix years' impriſonment in the Raſp-houſe, with felons and malefactors. This was the laſt vindictive meaſure which was executed by the ancient magiſtracy of Amſterdam.

The citizens, undiſmayed by the impriſonment of their leaders, and encouraged by the advances of the French, continued to aſſemble, and now, without moleſtation, though their object was notoriouſly hoſtile to the ſtadtholderian party, formed themſelves into regular corps for the protection of the city of Amſterdam. The officers commanding theſe corps were for the moſt part men who had been active in their oppoſition to the ſtadtholder in 1787, or were diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to French principles.

From the capture of Nimeguen, and the ſubſequent paſſage of the Waal, extreme conſternation ſeems to have palſied all the movements of the ſtadtholderian party. The Britiſh and German auxiliaries, though labouring under unſpeakable diſadvantages from the inferiority of their numbers, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, which deprived Holland of its natural means of defence, made a gallant reſiſtance on the frontiers of the republic; but far from receiving any ſupport from the interior, it was dubious whether they would not have to ſuſtain on one ſide the attacks of an enraged people, while on the other they were preſſed by a victorious enemy. In vain the ſtadtholder and the hereditary prince iſſued proclamation after proclamation, exhorting the Dutch to riſe in a maſs for the defence of their dear country *, their religion, liberties, and an-

* I borrow this expreſſion from one of the proclamations to which I allude.

cient

cient laws. Theſe pathetic addreſſes to the nation were ridiculed or diſregarded; and wherever torpor and inactivity did not poſſeſs men's minds, the ſpirit which prevailed was hoſtile to the government and its allies.—The diſaſtrous retreat of the Britiſh army is too well known to be dwelt on here!

On the 16th of January, 1795, the Engliſh troops precipitately evacuated the province of Utrecht, the capital of which had capitulated the day before; and on the 20th of the ſame month a deputation of citizens from Amſterdam conducted General Pichegru with five thouſand French troops into that city.

Early in the morning of this important day, the patriotic corps of Amſterdam took poſſeſſion of the ſtadthouſe, and mounted guard in the principal parts of the city. The tri-coloured flag was diſplayed from all the ſteeples of the town; the French cockade was univerſally worn; and the tree of liberty ſolemnly planted in the ſquare before the ſtadthouſe. So admirably had the whole

buſineſs

buſineſs been arranged, that not the ſlighteſt tumult or confuſion occurred; and, to uſe the words of an intelligent eye-witneſs *, which give a clearer idea than twenty ſentences could do—" it ſeemed on this occaſion at Amſterdam as if it were fair-time."

On the day that the French entered Amſterdam two proclamations were iſſued; one from the patriots, ſtyling themſelves the revolutionary committee of Amſterdam, tending to tranquilliſe the minds of the citizens, and recommending ſeveral individuals to be choſen as proviſional repreſentatives; the other a proclamation of the repreſentatives of the French people, aſſuring the Dutch that they ſhould be treated as an independent nation, that perſons and property ſhould be protected, that the ſtricteſt military diſcipline ſhould be obſerved by the republican army, and that the freedom of religious worſhip ſhould ſuffer no reſtraint. They

* A merchant reſiding at Amſterdam, to whom I am under various obligations.

promiſed

promiſed that the laws and cuſtoms of Holland ſhould be proviſionally maintained; and that the Batavian people alone, exerciſing that ſovereignty which belonged to them, ſhould have the power to alter and modify the conſtitution of their country *.

The regents of Amſterdam reſigned their offices, or were diſplaced, and Viſſcher, who ſcarcely two months before was ſentenced to ſix years' impriſonment in the Raſp-houſe, was triumphantly liberated from his confinement, and placed, with the title of mayor, at the head of the magiſtracy of the city. For this arduous office he was well qualified by the ſituations which he had formerly filled with honour, and for the unimpeached integrity and patriotiſm of his character.

At this time a proclamation was iſſued to the French army by General Pichegru, prohibiting the troops, under pain of death, from committing any acts of plunder or diſ-

* See in the Appendix, the paper marked A.

order,

order, and ordering them to treat the Dutch ſoldiers no longer as enemies, but as allies and brethren. The officers of the army were commanded to maintain the ſtricteſt diſcipline in their corps, and redreſs was freely promiſed to all individuals who ſhould think themſelves aggrieved by the republican troops. The French ſoldiers were impartially quartered on the inhabitants of Amſterdam: but it was permitted to thoſe who did not chooſe to have the military in their own houſes, to furniſh them with lodgings elſewhere, provided (a moſt ſalutary regulation!) the ſoldiers, ſo diſpoſed of, were not quartered in taverns or public houſes.

In a few days, the proviſional repreſentatives of Holland commenced their ſittings at the Hague. Peter Paulus, a man of great abilities and diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm, who had rendered himſelf, in 1787, highly obnoxious to the ſtadtholderian party, was choſen preſident of the aſſembly, and commenced the meeting with a ſpeech, replete with rational piety, candour, and moderation.

deration*. He congratulated the repreſentatives on the event of the campaign, and in a ſtrain of becoming humility and devotion, called their attention to the ſtriking interpoſition of Divine Providence in behalf of the arms of France. He recommended a cordial union among themſelves, and an oblivion of all former animoſities and party diſſenſions, as the likelieſt methods to enſure the proſperity of the country, and concluded with piouſly ſupplicating the bleſſing of Heaven on their counſels and meaſures.

The proviſional repreſentatives then proceeded to frame a declaration of the rights of men and citizens. The natural rights of man were defined to be, equality, liberty, ſafety, property, and reſiſtance to oppreſſion. Under theſe heads were ſeverally included, the freedom of the preſs and of religious worſhip, the peaceful enjoyment of property legally acquired, and the right of ſuffrage either perſonally or by repreſentation. The ſovereignty was declared to reſide in the en-

* See in the Appendix the paper marked B.

tire people; and their right at all times to change their government, to reform it, or to eſtabliſh another, was ſolemnly aſſerted. The offices of hereditary ſtadtholder, captain-general, and admiral-general of the republic, as contrary to the rights of man, were aboliſhed; and all hereditary diſtinctions, as thoſe of nobility or the equeſtrian order, were promiſcuouſly aboliſhed. Various colleges of magiſtracy and finance were ſuppreſſed; and a committee of public ſafety, a committee of finance, a military committee, and a committee of accounts, were proviſionally appointed, until a definitive arrangement could be made on theſe ſubjects by repreſentatives choſen by the whole nation.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

Conduct of the provisional representatives of Amsterdam.—Inquiries respecting the solvency of the bank.—Official report on the subject.—Deficiency of cash.—Nature of bank credits and receipts.—Indignation against the members of the old government.—Violent measures strongly recommended.—Wise proclamation of the representatives of Amsterdam.—Its beneficial effects.—Abolition of the stadtholderate.—Expressions of public joy at Amsterdam on that occasion.—The French representatives and generals occupied comparatively but little attention during these revolutionary movements. Character of General Pichegru in Holland.—The inhabitants of the United Provinces required to deliver up their plate for the use of the nation.—This ordinance chearfully complied with through animosity to Great Britain.—Attention of the Dutch to their marine.—Removal of large bodies of the French troops.—Estimate of the amount of the contributions paid to the French.

Amsterdam, 1800.

DURING this arduous period, the provisional representatives of Amsterdam laboured

inceſſantly to preſerve the tranquillity of the city, and their patriotic endeavours were attended with the happieſt ſucceſs. Some ſlight diſturbances were attempted by an inconſiderable number of miſled or ill-diſpoſed perſons, who thinking the reign of liberty and equality was to bring an exemption from taxes, refuſed to pay the taxes and duties required by the government. This tendency to riot was, without difficulty, ſuppreſſed, and a proclamation appeared commanding all perſons to pay in every caſe the ſame contributions and impoſts as formerly. At the ſame time the officers of the exciſe and cuſtoms, and all public functionaries employed in the collection of revenue, were commanded to remain at their poſt; and it was ordered that no magiſtrate or officer under the old ſyſtem of police ſhould quit Amſterdam, without having previouſly obtained a paſſport from the committee of inſpection.

Some weeks before the arrival of the French, a deputation of merchants in the patriotic intereſt waited on the directors of the bank of Amſterdam, to aſcertain the truth

truth or falſehood of ſome rumours highly prejudicial to the credit of that inſtitution, which were circulated with confidence in the city. The merchants reſpectfully applied to the directors for information on the ſubject, but inſtead of receiving the ſatisfactory anſwers to their enquiries which they had a right to expect, they were aſſured in a general way of the ſolvency of the bank; and it was intimated to them, that their enquiries were made only for the purpoſes of exciting alarm and adding to the public embarraſſments.

A few years ago, the bank of Amſterdam was ſuppoſed to contain the greateſt quantity of accumulated treaſures in the world. It was accounted the ſtore-houſe of Europe for the precious metals: and various eſtimates have been formed of its wealth, from the incredible ſum of forty millions ſterling*, to the equally ſuſpicious eſtimate of three hundred thouſand pounds. The bank of

* Nothing but the moſt abſurd credulity could ever have adopted this ſuppoſition.

Amſterdam was a bank of depoſit, and the credit on its books was thought to be rigorouſly proportioned with the treaſures in its coffers. This was indeed the ſpirit of the inſtitution; for though the vulgar idea was unfounded, that no money once depoſited in this bank could ever afterwards be withdrawn, it invariably profeſſed to keep in its repoſitories a quantity of money or bullion equal to the ſums for which credit was given on its books. In 1672, when the forces of Lewis XIV. almoſt thundered at the gates of Amſterdam, and the republic was filled with conſternation, all demands on the bank were honourably and inſtantaneouſly diſcharged, and the proofs of its ſolvency oſtentatiouſly diſplayed.

From that period, till again in 1795 the armies of France hovered on the frontiers of the republic, the bank of Amſterdam enjoyed an almoſt uninterrupted courſe of commercial confidence. The magiſtrates of various parties, to whoſe integrity the direction of the bank was ſucceſſively intruſted, never accuſed their predeceſſors of any improper

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uſe of its treaſures; and, therefore, though ſome ſuſpicions were entertained and propagated that the bank occaſionally accommodated the government with ſpecie, theſe ſuſpicions, being diſcountenanced by the perſons poſſeſſed of the beſt information on the ſubject, were diſregarded as the effects of party malice. It was alſo a kind of commercial hereſy to doubt the ſtability of the bank of Amſterdam; and therefore all rumours to its diſadvantage were not only received by the mercantile world with coldneſs, but repreſſed with acrimony.

The arrival of the French in Amſterdam, and the eſtabliſhment of the patriotic party in power, at length produced a complete inveſtigation of the affairs of the bank. It appeared from the official report, publiſhed by order of the proviſional repreſentatives of Amſterdam, on this ſubject *, that for the laſt fifty years the bank had occaſionally advanced on bond to the India company,

* See Appendix, paper C.

under guarantee of the city of Amſterdam, various ſums, amounting on the whole to upwards of ſix million florins. In a ſimilar way the provinces of Holland and Weſt Frieſland were indebted to the bank nearly a million florins. The loan-office of Amſterdam had contracted with the bank a debt of one million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand florins, and the city was otherwiſe in arrears with the bank upwards of four hundred thouſand florins. The whole amounting to upwards of nine million florins, or rather more than eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. For the whole of this ſum there had originally been inveſtments of caſh or bullion in the bank, to remove one florin of which, by way of loan, was a violation of the compact between the bank and its creditors. But if the money ſo diſpoſed of, inſtead of being hoarded up in the coffers of the bank, in a duplicate ratio increaſed the circulating medium of the country, efficiently by the caſh ſo iſſued from the ſtrong cheſts of the bank, and virtually by the credit which it poſſeſſed from the imaginary treaſure lodged

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in it, giving confidence and activity to commerce, and facilitating all the operations of trade, in a mercantile point of view, the conduct of the directors, in thus departing from the letter of their eſtabliſhment, was to be applauded rather than condemned.

The merchants of Amſterdam, however, thought otherwiſe. This deficiency in the ſacred depoſits of the bank excited the moſt vivid indignation againſt all who had been concerned in the management of that inſtitution, and the ſpirit of party tended to keep alive and heighten the flames of commercial reſentment.

The money thus taken from the coffers of the bank could at no time have been claimed by its creditors, being an accumulation of treaſure for which the receipts were expired, by which alone payment could be demanded. The nature of theſe receipts, by which alone caſh could be drawn from the bank of Amſterdam, may be briefly explained. When a perſon depoſited caſh or bullion

bullion in the bank, he obtained credit in its books for the ſum which he ſo inveſted, and a receipt, by which, within the period of ſix months, after cancelling the credit that he had obtained, he could draw his caſh or bullion from the bank. Theſe receipts were renewable on payment of a ſmall per centage to the bank, as warehouſe rent for the caſh lodged in it. If they were permitted to expire, the money or bullion, for which they were granted, could not be withdrawn from the bank, but the perſon who had ſo inveſted it, poſſeſſed an equivalent bank credit; which, however, he could convert into caſh, by purchaſing a receipt for the ſum that he wanted in the ſtock-market, where they were generally to be ſold.

Of the caſh and bullion which had fallen to the bank, or rather was become, or ought to have been, locked up in it, from the expiration of theſe receipts, not a ſingle florin remained; and the amount of this mighty and boaſted treaſure, had it been carefully

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ſtored in the vaults and caves of the bank, would not have reached the ſum of one million ſterling.

This deficiency, however, of the caſh of the bank of Amſterdam, related only to the bank credit, the caſh receipts of which were expired. According to the ſtatement of the proviſional repreſentatives of Amſterdam, the quantity of caſh in the bank was equal to the payment of the ſums for which receipts were in force; and the holders of bank credit, in the poſſeſſion of ſuch receipts, were at liberty to withdraw their money from the bank whenever they thought proper. The circumſtances of the bank conſequently only were bad, according to the proportion that the bank credit, for which there were receipts, bore to the debts of the bank for which there were no receipts. On the whole, the accounts of the bank, from the report made by the proviſional repreſentatives, were in a better ſtate than was generally expected; but, nevertheleſs, the public indignation was ſtrong, that any part of its treaſures ſhould have been taken from

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its repoſitories, contrary to the univerſally-received engagement between the bank and its creditors.

Enquiries took place at the ſame time into the affairs and conduct of the Eaſt and Weſt India Companies, and other public bodies; various abuſes were diſcovered; and in moſt caſes it was judged expedient to diſmiſs the principal officers and ſervants of the companies, &c. from their employments.

Theſe diſcoveries of maladminiſtration in various branches of the public ſervice, together with the memory of former injuries, which rankled in the breaſts of many, exciting a ſtrong deſire for revenge, produced much fermentation. Addreſſes, powerfully ſupported, were preſented to the proviſional repreſentatives, demanding that all the members of the old government, and other perſons concerned in the management of the bank and public companies, ſhould be put under arreſt; and that the moſt rigorous enquiry ſhould be made into their delinquencies, in order that public juſtice, and the vengeance

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of an outraged nation, might overtake the guilty. The conduct of the French towards their ſtate criminals was hinted at as an example not unworthy of imitation, and the neceſſity of ſevere meaſures was loudly aſſerted.

This inclination of an active, and, under the new ſyſtem, of a weighty and formidable part of the public, towards ſanguinary, or at leaſt violent, proceedings againſt the members of the old government, would probably have been matured by the animoſity of faction into actual execution, had not the proviſional repreſentatives of Amſterdam wiſely checked in its infancy the growth of this ſpirit of revolutionary vengeance.

In a proclamation addreſſed to the people of Amſterdam, relative to the vindictive meaſures recommended to be purſued with the members of the old government, and other obnoxious perſons, the proviſional repreſentatives, in a tone of the moſt admirable moderation and humanity, expreſſed their diſapprobation of ſuch ſentiments. No ſtate

paper

paper ever breathed a purer ſpirit of equity and conciliation. After noticing, with proper cenſure, the ſuggeſtions that had been made to them of the neceſſity of violent meaſures againſt the proſtrate and vanquiſhed agents of the ſubverted government, theſe enlightened and virtuous republicans proceeded to ſtate the noble ſentiments with which they were animated. "He deſerves not to triumph," they ſaid, "who baſely abuſes his victory." "The exerciſe of revenge," continue they, "may afford a tranſitory pleaſure in the moments of paſſion and delirium, but its conſequences are commonly ſad and fatal, while the exerciſe of equity and of generoſity leaves nothing but agreeable ſenſations." Unanimity and oblivion of paſt animoſities were energetically and perſuaſively recommended, as the moſt probable and laudable means to promote the welfare and proſperity of the republic. In anſwer to the recommendation, that meaſures of precaution and ſeverity, like thoſe which the French revolution had given birth to, ſhould be uſed with regard to all ſuſpected perſons,

perſons, the great difference between the revolution of Holland and that of France was clearly pointed out, and the relatively happy ſituation of the Batavian patriots obviouſly demonſtrated. It was the Dutch nation, and not a faction, which triumphed; it was the cauſe of liberty and equality, not the ſpirit of deſtruction and revenge. The people were exhorted to make a cordial offer of the right hand of fellowſhip to ſuch of their brethren as were deluded or miſled, and to attach them to the new ſyſtem of government, not by terror, but by juſtice, moderation, and generoſity *.

This proclamation calmed the fears of many who had taken an active part under the old government, and conſequently expected, as had happened in the courſe of

* In the Appendix (paper D), I have given a few extracts from this intereſting proclamation. It was publiſhed about the time when General Daendals and ſome other patriots, who had fled from Holland in 1787, and returned with the French army, were anxious to promote violent meaſures againſt their adverſaries the members of the old government.

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former revolutions in Holland, to be perſecuted by the victorious party. At the ſame time it extinguiſhed in the more violent patriots, whoſe reſentments were inflamed by a variety of cauſes, the ſentiments of revenge which they harboured.

About the ſame time an ordinance, tending further totranquilliſe the minds of the people, was iſſued by the proviſional repreſentatives of Holland, concerning the circulation of French aſſignats, of which mention had been made in one of the proclamations of General Pichegru, and in another of General Daendals to his countrymen. By this ordinance, all ſhopkeepers and dealers in *the neceſſaries of life*, were obliged to take as payment for their articles, from French ſoldiers and other perſons employed in the French army, at a ſtipulated rate, aſſignats; and on delivering to the municipality a weekly account of the aſſignats which they thus received, they were to be paid by the municipality the amount in ſpecie, or paper, for which the government was reſponſible. At the ſame time, the ſum to be taken from a French

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ſoldier in aſſignats on one occaſion was limited to ten livres; and further, to prevent frauds, and circumſcribe the circulation of aſſignats, no ſoldier was permitted to tender aſſignats for any purchaſe he might make, without a written ſanction to that effect from his officer; and the officers of the French army, to whom the uſe of aſſignats was permitted, in proportion to their rank and pay, were not allowed to paſs them without a written leave from the general of their diviſion. All other circulation of aſſignats was forbidden.

To relieve the preſſing neceſſities of the French army, a requiſition was made by the repreſentatives of the French people for a ſupply of clothing and proviſions to be delivered in the ſpace of one month *. The

* At Nimeguen, Bois le Duc, and Thiel. 200,000 quintals of wheat averdupois weight, 5 millions of rations of hay, 200,000 rations of ſtraw, 150,000 pair of ſhoes, 20,000 pair of boots, 20,000 coats and waiſtcoats, 40,000 pair of breeches, 150,000 pair of pantaloons, 200,000 ſhirts, 50,000 hats, and 12,000 oxen. The value of the whole was eſtimated, probably with much exaggeration, at a million and a half ſterling.

ſtates-general, to whom the requiſition was addreſſed, in a proclamation which betrayed their fears or their imbecility, commanded that the articles required by the French ſhould be furniſhed with the prompteſt obedience: all perſons in poſſeſſion of any of the articles wanted, were ordered to deliver them up to commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe; and the provincial adminiſtrations were directed to furniſh with all poſſible diſpatch their ſeveral quota towards defraying the expence of the requiſition.

Shortly afterwards, the inhabitants of the United Provinces were called upon to contribute *voluntarily* to the relief of the French army. Perſons ſoliciting aſſiſtance went from houſe to houſe throughout the republic; and as few choſe by their want of generoſity to be ſuſpected of being hoſtile to the French, and many endeavoured to extenuate their faults under the old ſyſtem, by a more than ordinary zeal for the new government and its allies, the contributions ſo levied amounted to a conſiderable ſum.

A large revenue is yearly collected in this manner,

manner, by voluntary contributions, for the relief and maintenance of the poor, and the ſupport of the charitable inſtitutions of Holland. In Amſterdam, a few days after the arrival of the French, the ſum of near forty thouſand florins was thus collected for the relief of the indigent of that city; a circumſtance not unworthy of being known, as it ſtrongly marks the tranquillity of the place, at a time when it could only be conſidered as a captured town.

On the ſixteenth of February, 1795, a ſolemn aſſembly of the deputies from all the provinces was held at the Hague, and at this meeting *the ſtadtholderate was formally declared to be aboliſhed for ever.* The ſame day a republican feſtival was celebrated, at which the French repreſentatives and the leaders of the army aſſiſted with the Dutch legiſlators.

At Amſterdam the ſolemn promulgation of the abolition of the ſtadtholderſhip was received with the wildeſt teſtimonies of public joy. All buſineſs was ſuſpended, to celebrate with proper exultation ſo auſpicious

an event. On every ſteeple the tri-coloured flag was diſplayed; ſalutes of artillery were fired from the men-of-war and baſtions, and all the clocks of the city chimed patriotic airs*. In the evening the town was illuminated, and in the ſquare before the ſtadthouſe fire-works were exhibited.—The repreſentatives of the French people on this occaſion re-aſſured the Dutch of their independence.

By reſigning almoſt entirely into the hands of the Dutch the management of their own affairs, the French repreſentatives and generals during this period of revolutionary movement occupied comparatively but an inconſiderable proportion of the public attention. Of the repreſentatives I learnt no particulars which deſerve to be preſerved; but General Pichegru, notwithſtanding the

* The Dutch patriotic airs poſſeſs much of that plaintiveneſs for which the Iriſh melodies are diſtinguiſhed.—I cannot refrain from mentioning in this place, that when the Britiſh army entered Alkmaer, the carillons or chimes of that town regaled the ears of the troops with "God ſave the king."

clouds

clouds which have of late obſcured his fortunes, and the treaſons that have tainted his character, is ſtill ſpoken of in Holland with ſentiments of reſpect and eſteem. I have heard his military talents queſtioned by perſons well qualified to pronounce on the ſubject; but the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of his campaigns has always made me receive ſuch reports with ſcepticiſm. If he is not to be ranked with the firſt generals whom the preſent conteſt has produced, he undoubtedly deſerves to hold a diſtinguiſhed place among the leaders, who have covered with laurels the arms of the French republic. His conduct as general of the army which conquered Holland, is repreſented by the Dutch as extremely amiable. It was moderate, humane, and unaſſuming. The vaſt authority which was lodged in his hands, was ſullied by no acts of oppreſſion or injuſtice; and laſtly, he quitted Holland unenriched by the plunder of the people whom he protected.

The financial embarraſſments of the republic early in the new order of things demanded the attention of the proviſional re-

preſentatives of Holland, and an ordinance was publiſhed requiring that every perſon ſhould deliver up all the uncoined gold and ſilver, or plate (except ſpoons or forks), in his poſſeſſion. For the precious metals thus furniſhed a receipt was granted, which was taken as a part of the further contributions which the holder was bound to pay to the ſtate; or if the quantity of plate furniſhed exceeded the amount of the taxes otherwiſe to be paid by the perſon ſo furniſhing, he received at his option government currency, or the obligation was funded. In this ordinance were included perſonal ornaments, if they exceeded the value of three hundred florins, and all medals and foreign coins not current in the republic. This meaſure of terrible ſtate-neceſſity and embarraſſment, far from exciting murmurs or diſcontents, was obeyed throughout the United Provinces with the utmoſt alacrity and cheerfulneſs; and in this inſtance perhaps the love of country prevailed over avarice, for from the quantity of plate received, which was conſiderably more than the eſtimate that had been

been formed of this reſource, it was preſumed that none had been withheld.

The leading cauſe of this promptitude in the Dutch to aſſiſt their new government, was the animoſity which the nation entertained againſt Great Britain, with whom a war was now become inevitable. The detention of Dutch ſhips and property in England, the contemptuous treatment of the deputies ſent to reclaim them, and the hoſtile meaſures obviouſly intended to be purſued againſt the colonial poſſeſſions of the republic, conſpired to increaſe in Holland the flame of hatred that had long gone forth againſt the Britiſh nation. Every meaſure was embraced with avidity that tended to ſtrengthen the republic againſt its *odious* and ancient rival; and the government, profiting by this enthuſiaſm of the people, ventured on expedients for the reſtoration of public credit which would not have been attempted at a period of leſs national ſpirit and ardour.

The utmoſt activity reigned in all the naval arſenals of the republic, and large ſums were voted to place the marine forces

of the ſtate in a reſpectable condition. Scarcely any thing tended more to exaſperate the people againſt the old government than the neglect into which it had permitted the navy of the republic to fall. One of the principal accuſations againſt the ſtadtholder was, that, liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of England, which dreaded to ſee the marine of Holland in a proſperous condition, the wants of the navy were not only unattended to, but every artifice was uſed further to enfeeble it. The meaſures adopted by the proviſional government relative to the navy, were the moſt popular ſteps that could have been purſued. The enthuſiaſm of the people was kept alive by conſtant alluſions to the bright annals of the republic, to the days of Ruyter, Tromp, and Van Brakel, when the fleets of Holland proudly inſulted the coaſts of England, or, audaciouſly forcing the narrow paſs of the Baltic, gave laws to the north*.

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* In 1659 the Dutch ſent a fleet to the relief of the king of Denmark, their ally, then beſieged in his capital, Copenhagen,

As the ſpring advanced, large bodies of the French troops, which had been cantoned in the United Provinces, were, to the great relief of the inhabitants, marched out of the territories of the republic. In requiſitions, contributions of various kinds, forced and voluntary, the French were thought to have levied in a ſhort period a ſum amounting to near four millions ſterling. This, with the exertions that the Dutch were making to put their navy on a reſpectable footing, and the ſevere loſſes they ſuſtained by the detention of their ſhips and property in England, would have occaſioned conſiderable financial embarraſſments, and conſequently much diſcontent, had not the nation approved of the new government, and ſeconded

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Copenhagen, by the Swedes. The caſtles of Cronenburg and Elſineur, which were thought to command the paſſage of the Sound, were garriſoned by Swediſh troops; but, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition which they made, the Dutch fleet ſailed triumphantly through the Sound, and defeating the Swediſh navy before Copenhagen, obliged Sweden to grant a peace to Denmark on equitable terms.

with

with zeal its meaſures. The large advances made to the French were paid with leſs reluctance, as they were conſidered as a kind of ranſom for the public arſenals and ſtores, and the price paid by the nation for liberty to make what alterations it pleaſed in its conſtitution, without the degrading intervention of the conqueror. The admirable diſcipline of the French army, and the juſtice and humanity of its leaders, alſo materially tended to reconcile the people to the heavy impoſts laid upon them for the ſupport of their new allies.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

Progreſs of the revolution.—Emigrations.—Treaty between the French and Batavian republics.—Severe terms impoſed on the Dutch.—Eſtabliſhment of a directorial government.—Opinions of the Dutch concerning their loſſes abroad.—Sea fight of the 11th of October, 1797.—Account of Admiral De Winter.—Violent meaſures purſued with the legiſlators.—Further extortions of the French.—Treatment of the Dutch ſoldiers in the ſervice of France.—Diſcontents in Holland.—Repreſentations of the ſtadtholderian party.—The Engliſh expedition.—Oppoſition to the landing of the Britiſh forces.—Surrender of the Dutch fleet.—Culpable inactivity of the Engliſh forces.—Opinion of a French officer concerning the merit of the Britiſh generals.—Proclamation of the hereditary Prince of Orange.—Succeſſes of the Britiſh and Ruſſian troops.—Unexpected retreat of the army under the Duke of York.—A convention concluded with General Brune.—

The

The terms diſpleaſing to the Batavian directory.—Suſpicions attached to General Brune.—Report of the French of the behaviour of the Engliſh during the campaign.—Prince William of Glouceſter.—Treatment of the Britiſh and Ruſſian priſoners.—Honourable conduct of the Engliſh army in Holland.—The petty warfare carried on by the navy.—Reflections on the expedition.

Amſterdam, 1800.

HITHERTO the revolution of Holland had been happily conducted, and the world ſaw with aſtoniſhment a nation, under the eyes of its conquerors, tranquilly proceeding to reform the abuſes of its government. This ſpectacle was the more grand and delightful, as it occurred at a period when Europe was ſhaken to its centre, by civil contentions, and almoſt univerſal hoſtilities. Hoſtilities not grounded on the ordinary cauſes of war, but growing out of oppoſite principles, which imbittered the animoſities of nations beyond the example of all former times. It occurred at a period when the term revolution ſeemed deſignated to expreſs ſcenes of atrocity and horror, outrageous perſecutions

perſecutions againſt virtue, integrity, and talents; violations of morality, and all the ſocial duties of life; a diſregard for the claims of humanity; factions ſucceeding to factions, each more terrible in their meaſures than their predeceſſors; the elevation of the blood-thirſty and flagitious, and the depreſſion of the virtuous and humane! It has already been ſtated that not one drop of human blood was judicially ſpilt on account of the revolution of Holland!

The emigrations which took place prior to the arrival of the French were conſiderable, but no ſevere laws were enacted againſt the perſons who ſo fled, and the tranquillity and good order maintained by the new government induced multitudes to return to their country. A nobleman who aſked permiſſion of the preſident of the proviſional repreſentatives, for his brother, who had accompanied the ſtadtholder to England, to return to Holland, received for anſwer, that there were laws againſt emigrations, but none againſt returns.

The conduct of the French towards the Dutch

Dutch nation was regarded by the latter with ſentiments of gratitude and eſteem, until, in the month of May, 1795, the articles of the treaty of peace between the two republics were made known. The conditions granted by France to Holland excited throughout the United Provinces the livelieſt diſcontent. They were ſuch as even the moſt zealous partiſans of the new ſyſtem, and the firmeſt adherents of the French, could not vindicate. But how were they to be rejected? Holland, completely in the power and at the mercy of France, had no alternative but to accept the conditions offered her, or ſee her cities given up to ſpoliation and rapine.

Beſide the heavy contributions which had already been levied on the Dutch, a further ſum, to the immenſe amount of one hundred millions of livres, was required by one of the articles of the treaty to be paid, either in ſpecie or in bills upon foreign powers, as ſhould afterwards be agreed upon, as an indemnification to the French republic for the expences of the war.

Antwerp

Antwerp being incorporated with France, the navigation of the Scheldt was declared to be free for the veſſels of both republics; and dock-yards and ſtore-houſes were aſſigned in the port of Fluſhing, where the waters of the Scheldt meet the ocean, for the uſe of the French.

Though at peace with Auſtria and the powers of Germany, the Dutch were compelled to aſſiſt the French with half their diſpoſable military force: the enemies of the French republic were acknowledged and declared to be the enemies of Holland; and twelve ſhips of the line, and eighteen frigates (the article probably of the treaty to which the Dutch aſſented with moſt cordiality) were agreed to be furniſhed for the North Sea*.

The deep diſcontent occaſioned by this treaty, was afterwards further increaſed by the adoption of a government for the United Provinces, copied after that of the French republic. The moderate party were deſirous

* This treaty is given in the Appendix, paper E.

of

of the old conſtitution of the United States, with ſome modifications and changes favourable to the popular cauſe, as the perpetual abolition of the ſtadtholderate and hereditary nobility, and an extenſion of the right of ſuffrage. But the influence of France, too weighty to be reſiſted, and the love of innovation, too ardent for ſober reflection, prevailed over theſe ſentiments. The venerable ſtate edifice of the Seven Confederated Provinces of Belgium was overthrown, and a Gallic ſtructure, airy, light, and unſubſtantial, was erected in its place. The weakneſs and crimes of the French directory, facilitating the enlightened views of the great man who, happily for Europe, at preſent guides the deſtinies of France, proved its overthrow; and the Batavian government, its offspring, is verging faſt, through imbecility, to diſſolution. May it quietly expire!

On the eſtabliſhment of a directorial government in Holland, many virtuous and enlightened patriots, diſguſted at the new ſyſtem of things, and not being able, under the

the circumſtance of an irreſiſtible foreign influence, to render their country further ſervices, withdrew themſelves from public affairs, to the infinite loſs of the nation. Their places were occupied by another deſcription of patriots, men who owed their conſequence to the revolution, and ſupported it more from perſonal intereſt and feeling, than from any ſettled conviction of its expediency or value:—men of weak underſtandings, but ardent diſpoſitions, who miſtook a deſire for innovation* for an inclination to do good.

The loſſes of the Dutch abroad, the capture of their important colony the Cape of Good Hope, and the diſgraceful ſurrender of the fleet ſent to its relief, conſpired to augment the unpopularity of the new go-

* I wiſh the Engliſh language had a ſynonyme to the Greek verb νεωτερίζειν, which ſo happily expreſſes the turbulence of the Grecian commonwealth; and I wonder that the refinements of modern language, and the troubles of modern times, have not produced ſome term by which a love of changes in governments could be at once briefly and forcibly expreſſed.

vernment; and ſtrong ſuſpicions were entertained, that in the boſom of the directory and of the councils there was a party in the pay of England, which, like the ſtadtholder's, betrayed the intereſts of the republic, and ſerved the cauſe of its moſt dangerous rival. In particular it was thought that the fleet ſent to the Cape of Good Hope was deſtined to fall an eaſy prey to the Engliſh; and rumours of this treaſon were afloat before the armament ſailed from the ports of Holland. To aſcertain the foundation on which ſuch a report reſted would probably be no eaſy taſk, but the mention that it was widely circulated and believed, ſerves to ſhew the opinion that was entertained of the government; and that men, in places of authority and truſt, were thought to be baſe enough, for mercenary conſiderations, to betray their country.

The naval combat of the 11th of October, 1797, though it ended in the total defeat of their fleet, raiſed for a period the ſpirits of the Dutch nation, and was of ſome advantage to the government. The conteſt was honourably

honourably and courageously maintained by the Dutch, and no one was suspected of having neglected his duty, or served the cause of the enemy. As I remembered to have heard in England some reports to the disadvantage of Admiral Story, who commanded a division of the Batavian fleet on that day, I made particular enquiries concerning him; and by Captain ——, who commanded a frigate on the 11th of October, and saw the whole of the engagement, I was assured that Admiral Storey's conduct was that of a brave and honourable seaman. Towards the end of the action he lost a leg; and it was not until he was so disabled, that his ship quitted the line of battle. He has since been impeached for his behaviour on another occasion; but certainly his conduct on the 11th of October, far from deserving any censure, was highly meritorious and praise-worthy.

Admiral De Winter was a general of brigade in the French army at the period of the conquest of Holland, and bears the

reputation of a good ſoldier, as well as of a brave and ſkilful admiral. He is a perſon of the fineſt character, and univerſally beloved. Though unfortunate to an extent, where a ſenſe of national ſhame and calamity blunts the feeling of pity, and gives velocity and ſharpneſs to the darts of calumny, his reputation is unſullied by the ſlighteſt breath of unfavourable report. His diſpoſition is mild, and his manners ſingularly modeſt and unaffuming. Yet with theſe qualities, which ſeem but ill adapted to win the hearts of the turbulent and boiſterous men of the profeſſion to which he belongs, he is viewed with the moſt partial affection by the officers and ſeamen of the Dutch marine. His conduct has invariably been marked by moderation and humanity; and though he obtained the high ſituation which he holds in the navy of Holland by the influence of the French, he has never ſanctioned with his approbation the conduct of that republic towards his country. In all inſtances he has acted the part of

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a genuine and honeſt patriot;—of a patriot worthy of the moſt virtuous times of the republic.

The popularity at home reſulting to the government of Holland from the hard conteſted, though unſucceſsful, combat of the 11th of October, was ſhort lived. Early in the enſuing year, diſcontent and oppoſition to the meaſures of the Batavian adminiſtration had made ſuch progreſs, not only among the people, but in the councils, that the directory, in order to maintain their authority, were obliged to have recourſe to the deſperate expedient of purging the legiſlative aſſemblies of their obnoxious members with an armed force. An oath of hatred to the ſtadtholder was then taken by the remaining members, and a decree paſſed, commanding the anniverſary of the execution of Lewis XVI. to be obſerved as a feſtival throughout the republic. This revolution was effected without the intervention of the French; but from the meaſures that immediately reſulted from it, the concluſion may ſafely be drawn, that it had

their countenance and approbation. A ſimilar act of outrage had, a ſhort period before, been committed againſt the legiſlatures of France, by a part of the executive power of that republic.

Though by the treaty of peace a ſtipulated ſum was required from the Dutch nation, as an indemnification to the French republic for the expences of the war, this price of redemption, exorbitant and immoderate as it was, ſerved rather to excite than to allay the rapacity of the French; and new demands were made on the Batavian republic, under the various forms of loans, requiſitions of clothing and proviſions, voluntary contributions, ſubſidies, and the forced circulation of aſſignats.

The treatment of the Batavian troops, in the ſervice of France, was complained of as peculiarly ſevere and unjuſt. In battle they were almoſt conſtantly placed in ſituations of the greateſt danger; and in the exchange of priſoners their intereſt was invariably neglected. Thus treated by the confederate army, deſertion was frequent among the Ba-

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tavian ſoldiers; but the government was obliged to ſupply with new recruits the diminution of their forces, which aroſe from this cauſe. The Dutch ſoldiers were reproached early in the war, by the Britiſh and Auſtrian troops, then their brethren in arms, with ſhameful cowardice or treachery, and the ſame accuſations purſued them when they were united to the legions of France.

In 1799 the Batavian republic ſeems to have reached its loweſt ebb of depreſſion. The people, worn out with the repeated exactions of the French, the deſtruction of their commerce, the loſs of their colonies, and the arbitrary acts of the government, became impatient of a change in the ſyſtem of affairs, and the diſcontents that reigned throughout the republic aſſumed a haughty and menacing tone. The condition of Holland under the adminiſtration of the ſtadtholder was invidiouſly compared with its degraded and abject ſituation under the directorial government, and expoſed to the rapacity of France.

The ſtadtholderian party, probably blinded by their paſſions, miſtook theſe diſcontents and murmurs for a general inclination in the people to re-eſtabliſh the old form of government, provided ſuch foreign aſſiſtance could be furniſhed them, as would enable them to expel the French from the territories of the republic; and thus over-rating their ſtrength and abilities, ſtrong repreſentations were made to England of the expediency of ſending into Holland a ſufficient force to aſſiſt the friends of the ſtadtholder, and exonerate the republic from the bondage of France. The diſaffection to the new government, which notoriouſly prevailed in the marine and military forces of the republic, was placed in the ſtrongeſt light; and aſſurances were held out, if not of their cordial ſupport, of a languid reſiſtance. It was further ſtated, that the number of French troops in Holland was more reduced than it had been at any period ſince the conqueſt of the country; and that the vaſt armies which the French had to maintain in Italy and Germany, where the fate of the war

was dubious, would probably prevent them from ſending any conſiderable reinforcements to their troops in Holland.

Theſe repreſentations, coinciding with the inclinations of the Britiſh government, produced in the autumn of the year an expedition againſt Holland. The ſtadtholderian party complained, that the army deſtined for their deliverance was not embarked until the favourable ſeaſon for the campaign was paſt; and a continuance of unfavourable weather for ſome days after the appearance of the armament off the Texel increaſed the evils of this delay. A part of the hoſtile fleet having anchored off the Helder, the point where a landing was meant to take place was diſcloſed, and the forces deſtined to oppoſe the invaders conſequently marched towards that point.

It appeared on the landing of the troops, that an erroneous opinion had been formed of the diſpoſition of the Dutch ſoldiers. They were commanded by General Daendals, an officer of great experience and abilities, whoſe fidelity to the new government was guaranteed

guaranteed by a large ſhare of animoſity againſt the Britiſh nation, and oppoſed the diſembarkation of the hoſtile forces with the greateſt courage and reſolution. At length, preſſed by ſuperior numbers, they retreated, but not before they had made a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and given the Engliſh a ſevere foretaſte of the determined oppoſition which they had to expect from the Batavian army.

If the ſtadtholderian party had been too ſanguine in their expectations from the Dutch army, it appears that they had formed a true judgment of the diſpoſition of the navy. On the defeat of the forces which oppoſed the landing of the Engliſh, ſtrong ſymptoms of mutiny and inſubordination broke out in the Dutch fleet. This tendency to revolt, it is firmly believed in Holland, might have been checked, had the commander-in-chief and ſome of the principal officers of the fleet been faithful to their duty, but they are ſuppoſed to have been gained over to the ſtadtholderian party; and the diſgraceful ſurrender of the fleet was the conſequence of their treachery. The juſtification of himſelf,

himself, which Admiral Story addressed to the Batavian directory, if what was advanced in it was to be relied on as fact, clearly exculpated him; but the contrary opinion is entertained in Holland, and it is not probable that he will ever again be employed.

On their first successes, and the surrender of the fleet, it was expected that the English army would have advanced rapidly into the country. There was no force sufficient to oppose them, and multitudes of disaffected individuals were preparing to join them.

Though the majority of the inhabitants of Amsterdam were inclined to support the new government, it contained a powerful party, daily receiving accessions of strength from the provinces, in favour of the stadtholder, which only waited for the nearer approach of the British army to declare themselves. So confidently were the English expected in Amsterdam, and a counter-revolution to take place throughout Holland, that the members of the directory were prepared to quit the Hague. But with a supineness which

which is moſt loudly condemned by their friends in Holland, the leaders of the Britiſh army, inſtead of profiting by the conſternation which their firſt ſucceſs and the treaſon of the fleet occaſioned, remained in a ſtate of cautious, if not timid, inactivity, till the ſeaſon for rapid operations was elapſed.

The number of ſtadtholderians who had joined the Britiſh army, excluſive of thoſe from the fleet, was inconſiderable; but this was accounted for by the circumſtance, that the part of Holland which was occupied by the Engliſh was the diſtrict moſt averſe, within the limits of the republic, to the authority of the houſe of Orange. In the ſouthern parts of Holland, towards the mouth of the Maeſe, where the ſtadtholderian party wiſhed the invaſion to have been made, the friends of the old government were much more numerous. It cannot, however, be doubted, but that many would have joined the army, had it advanced far enough to have enabled them to do ſo with ſecurity and confidence; and in the

perſons

persons so disposed as inactivity excited mingled emotions of indignation and sorrow. Speaking of this period of the campaign in Holland, a French general said to me, "C'étoit par la sottise des généraux Anglais que l'Amsterdam n'étoit pas pris." This, however, he qualified by adding, that had Amsterdam been taken, the French inevitably must soon have become masters of it again. The delay of the British army afforded time to the French to collect their forces, and about the period that the Duke of York arrived with a reinforcement of English and Russian troops, General Brune, with a large body of French auxiliaries, took the command of the Gallo-Batavian army.

The hereditary Prince of Orange arrived in the army about the same time with the Duke of York, and, probably elated with the success that had been obtained, addressed a proclamation to the Dutch people, couched in terms scarcely less peremptory than might have been used had the Orange colours been flying on the stadthouse of Amsterdam.

Amſterdam. It formed a ſtriking contraſt with the proclamations publiſhed by the repreſentatives of the French people four years before. But where power is unlimited, moderation is more frequently to be found, than where weakneſs predominates, unleſs power is lodged in the hands of Alvas or Philips.

After a ſeries of bloody and well-conteſted actions, the Britiſh and Ruſſian forces obtained poſſeſſion of Alkmaer, and the hopes of the friends of the houſe of Orange, which the tardy movements of the army had dampt, began to revive. The citizens of Amſterdam, attached to the new order of things, again trembled for the ſecurity of the capital, and, throughout the republic, the partiſans of the ſtadtholder were filled with the moſt extravagant joy.

But theſe ſentiments of depreſſion on the one hand, and of exultation on the other, were of no long duration. After a deſperate engagement, in which the Britiſh forces were victorious, but with great loſs, it was judged neceſſary by the commander-in-chief for the army to retreat.

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So unexpected was such a measure by General Brune, and, in consequence of his defeat, believing that further offensive operations would immediately be pursued by the English, that, designing himself to retreat, he had sent his baggage, with part of his artillery, across the Y.

Favoured by the obscurity of a tempestuous night, and the enemy's ignorance of their design, the retreat of the British army was effected with little loss. By day-light in the morning they were at a distance of thirty miles from the French forces, and in a position of considerable strength, where they had formerly been established. It was now determined that the British and Russian troops should evacuate Holland; and to accomplish this without further effusion of blood, a negociation was entered into by the Duke of York with General Brune.

The conditions at first proposed by the French general, on which the Duke of York's army should be permitted to re-imbark without molestation, were so exorbitant, as to be instantly rejected. Brune required that

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the Dutch fleet should be restored, and fifteen thousand French and Batavian prisoners released, without conditions, from the prisons of England. The demand of the restitution of the fleet was soon abandoned, though the Batavian directory, in their instructions to General Brune, insisted that the restitution of the fleet should form the leading article in any convention that might be concluded by him with the Duke of York; and the number of prisoners required to be released without exchange, was reduced to eight thousand. The other articles of the convention stipulated, that the British and Russian forces should quit the territories of the Batavian republic before the 30th of November, and that no injury should be done to the dikes, canals, or navigation of the Texel.

The easy terms on which the British and Russian troops were permitted to evacuate Holland were loudly complained of by the Batavian directory, and strong insinuations against the integrity of General Brune were circulated throughout the republic by the party inimical to the English. These suspi-

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cions were countenanced by the known character of the general for rapacity, and the belief that he had obtained the command of the French army in Holland by corruption, conſequently would not ſcruple to reimburſe himſelf by the moſt nefarious means. But moſt probably the ſtrength of the Britiſh army, the means of defence which it poſſeſſed, and perhaps a humane deſire to prevent a further waſte of human life, were the real motives that induced General Brune to grant the terms alluded to.

The French who ſerved againſt the Engliſh during this campaign ſpeak in the higheſt terms of the bravery of the Britiſh ſoldiers; but their report of the generals is leſs favourable. There is one exception, however, to this. The conduct of Prince William of Glouceſter excited particular admiration in the French; and he is mentioned with much reſpect and praiſe, as a general who will one day be an honour to the Britiſh nation, if the early proofs which he has given of his courage and military ta-

ſents are to be relied on as prognoſtics of the future.

The treatment of the Britiſh and Ruſſian troops who were taken priſoners, was ſingularly humane and generous. A party of women and children, belonging to the Engliſh army, having fallen into the hands of the enemy, they were ſent to Amſterdam; a collection was made in that city for their relief; and after having been hoſpitably entertained for ſome days, they were reſtored to their huſbands and fathers, all of them comfortably furniſhed by the benevolence of the enemy with new clothing.

The conduct and diſcipline of the Britiſh army, while they remained in Holland, gave great ſatisfaction to the peaceful, inoffenſive inhabitants of the parts where hoſtilities had been carried on. Every article taken for the uſe of the troops was paid for with the utmoſt regularity and punctuality; and where unavoidable damage was done to the property of individuals, for purpoſes of defence or attack, compenſation was liberally made.

But

But a leſs honourable warfare was waged by the navy. A flotilla of gun-boats and ſmall veſſels, inadequate to any ſplendid or uſeful conqueſts, coaſted the ſhores of the Zuider Zee, deſtroying fiſhing ſmacks, and firing on the miſerable villages that did not diſplay the Orange flag. Where, through fear, they were received as friends, their buſineſs was to diſmiſs the petty municipalities, cut down the trees of liberty, and diſtribute Orange cockades to all who choſe to accept of them. On their departure, the former order of things were invariably re-eſtabliſhed; and thus frequently in the courſe of a few hours a village was revolutioniſed, and counter-revolutioniſed, with the moſt perfect indifference on the part of its inhabitants.

Had the expedition againſt Holland been attempted at an earlier period of the year, or had the army advanced after its firſt ſucceſſes, before the French and Dutch had time to concentrate their forces, it is highly probable that poſſeſſion might have been gained of Amſterdam, and a great part of the republic reduced to obedience to the ſtadtholder. But

perhaps it was fortunate for humanity that the campaign terminated otherwiſe. Had Amſterdam been taken, and the ſtadtholder reſtored to his offices, the patriots and the French would ſtill have remained in poſſeſſion of the frontier places of the republic, from whence no force that the houſe of Orange could have raiſed, or the Engliſh ſupplied, would have expelled them; and France, rather than permit ſo important a conqueſt as Holland to be wreſted from her hands, would, from theſe commanding points, have poured innumerable and irreſiſtible bodies of troops into the country. The Britiſh army might again, at an inclement ſeaſon of the year, have been obliged to make a diſaſtrous retreat, through a dreary and inhoſpitable country, with an active and vigilant enemy in their rear, and the Prince of Orange might again have been compelled to ſeek his perſonal ſafety in a precipitate flight from his government.

The complete failure of the expedition, undertaken at their ſuggeſtion, and for their relief, extinguiſhed the laſt hopes of the ſtadtholderian

ſtadtholderian party, and firmly eſtabliſhed the power of the new government. The repulſe of a powerful army of invaders, exalted the ſpirit of the nation, and the murmurs of diſcontent againſt the directory and the legiſlatures were loſt in the ſhouts of triumph that reſounded throughout the republic.

LETTER XVII.

Commerce of Amſterdam.—Number of ſhips diſmantled.—The Dutch Eaſt-India Company.—Account of Colonel Gordon, governor of the Cape of Good Hope.—Intercourſe with Batavia by means of American veſſels.—The ſentiments entertained in Holland reſpecting Bonaparte.—Some account of that great man.—Madame Bonaparte.—Aſſurances of the Firſt Conſul of the French republic to the Batavian government.—Laſt requiſition made by the French to the Dutch.—Eſtimate of the contributions levied in Holland by the French.—Meaſures to be purſued by the Dutch at the concluſion of the war.

Amſterdam, 1800.

THE mighty commerce which Amſterdam, in former periods, carried on with all the quarters of the globe, is now, by the inauſpicious circumſtances of the times, reduced to a petty inland traffic, and an inconſiderable

conſiderable trade with foreign parts by the means of neutral veſſels. The immenſe number of diſmantled ſhips with which the harbour is crowded beſpeaks the former commercial proſperity of Amſterdam, and its preſent impoveriſhed ſtate. The greater part of the ſhips are in the worſt condition imaginable, and would, were peace to bid the commerce of Holland revive, be found unfit for the purpoſes of navigation. I perceived that the ſmall veſſels were generally in a more diſabled and decayed condition than the large ones; probably from the circumſtance that their owners, perſons in the middle walks of life, had ſuffered more by the war than the wealthier claſſes concerned in ſhipping, and conſequently were unable to be at ſufficient expence for the preſervation of their property.

At an early period of the revolution, the circumſtances of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, the greateſt commercial inſtitution in the United Provinces, underwent a rigorous inveſtigation. The ſtadtholder, by virtue of an agreement made in 1787, was go-

vernor of this company, and enjoyed, in conſequence of his ſituation, the lucrative patronage of many valuable offices. In the diſpoſal of the offices in his gift, it appeared that the ſtadtholder, or his miniſters, had not often conſulted the intereſts of the company; and the ſubſequent loſs of the Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt, which fell an eaſy prey to the Engliſh, was attributed in a great meaſure to the treachery or lukewarmneſs of the perſons appointed to high ſituations of confidence and truſt in the colonies by the Prince of Orange.

The honour of Colonel Gordon, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope at the time of its capture, is, however, unimpeached, and his memory is cheriſhed with ſentiments of eſteem and regret. He was unfortunate, but not culpable. Having made an unſkilful diſpoſition of his forces, they were repulſed by the invading army, and he was obliged to ſurrender the colony entruſted to his command. A fine ſenſe of feeling, honourable to his heart as a ſoldier, prevented him from ſurviving this misfortune,

tune, and after he had reluctantly consented to the capitulation, he put a period to his existence with a pistol. His death atoned for his mistake, and Gordon may rank with the commandants of Longwi and Verdun.

The finances of the East-India Company were found in a disordered state, and it had contracted a heavy debt with the bank of Amsterdam. Corruption and disorder prevailed in the settlements abroad, and neglect and abuses in all the departments at home. A multiplicity of useless offices had been created for the purpose of pensioning the friends of the stadtholder, and of the expenditure of large sums no reasonable account could be given.

But the extensive warehouses of the company were full of the precious commodities of the East; and the people had the satisfaction to learn, that should their intercourse with India be suspended for seven years, there would still remain in the store-houses of the company an ample provision of the spices and drugs of Asia. An intercourse is kept up with the settlement of Batavia, chiefly through

through the means of American veſſels, three or four of which arrive annually at Amſterdam laden with the produce of that colony; and notwithſtanding it is probable it will be attacked by the Engliſh, the Dutch do not appear to entertain any fears for the ſafety of this, their moſt valuable eſtabliſhment in India. The loſs of their other colonies and iſlands affects them more for the diſgrace which their capture has brought on the Dutch arms, than for any eſſential injury which the nation has thereby ſuſtained. The ſuperiority of the Engliſh at ſea muſt of neceſſity have ſuſpended their intercourſe with theſe foreign poſſeſſions; and they believe with great confidence, that whenever peace is concluded, their colonies, without exception, will be reſtored.

The late revolution of France, which has placed at the head of the government of that country one of the greateſt generals, one of the moſt profound ſtateſmen and enlightened legiſlators, that the world ever ſaw, is regarded in Holland as an event ſingularly fortunate for the republic. The character

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of Bonaparte is conſidered in Holland with the higheſt ſentiments of veneration and attachment. His military talents, the moderate uſe he has invariably made of victory, the clemency of his diſpoſition, his ſincere endeavours to reſtore peace to Europe, and his munificent encouragement of arts and ſciences, are ſubjects of loud and general panegyric. The pictures and buſts of this great man that are exhibited for ſale in Holland are innumerable; and from the avidity of the people to poſſeſs likeneſſes of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character, they are readily diſpoſed of. At every table where toaſts are given, the health of Bonaparte is always enthuſiaſtically drank; and at French tables, the health of the firſt conſul of the republic is conſtantly given in the ſame manner as that of the king is in England.

I had the happineſs to meet with more than one perſon who was well acquainted with Bonaparte, and had ſeen him ſince his elevation to the firſt magiſtracy of the French republic. The exalted ſituation which he fills has ſcarcely produced any change

change in his character or manners. He is, as formerly, reſerved with ſtrangers, but affable, condeſcending, and familiar, with his friends. When a perſon with whom he is acquainted is admitted to an audience with him, it is uſual for the conſul to walk up and down the room, holding with the engaging eaſe of friendſhip or perſonal kindneſs the arm or ſleeve of the man with whom he converſes. His memory is ſo uncommonly retentive, that he minutely remembers places, times, and circumſtances, however obſcure or remote; and when reviewing the troops, he frequently notices, with expreſſions of commendation, individuals in the ranks who, at different periods of the war, have ſerved under him and diſtinguiſhed themſelves. To be noticed by the conſul is a diſtinction highly flattering to a French ſoldier, and particularly as this approbation always proceeds from a clear and diſtinct recollection of the actions which give birth to it. Bonaparte is equally beloved by the ſoldiers and officers of the army; and between the two there exiſts a

kind

kind of emulation which ſhall ſhew him the ſtrongeſt marks of affection and attachment. I never heard him ſpoken of by a French officer but in terms of almoſt idolatrous admiration, and the ſame ſentiments pervade the loweſt ranks of the army.

In private life, Bonaparte is repreſented to be temperate, regular, and abſtemious: indulging in no expenſive pleaſures, and ſternly diſcountenancing all irregularity of manners. I was curious to know what were his religious opinions, if any; and the idea I found which generally prevailed on this ſubject was, that the exiſtence of a Supreme Being was a belief firmly eſtabliſhed on his mind.

Madame Bonaparte is ſpoken of as a woman of uncommonly vigorous powers of mind, and moſt amiable manners. Her taſte for, and patronage of, the fine arts are equally to be commended, and indigent merit of every kind finds in her a liberal benefactreſs. She does not want the diſpoſition for intriguing in ſtate affairs, which under the old government diſtinguiſhed the ladies of the

the French court; but wherever her influence is thought to be exerted, it is for the prosperity of the nation, and the glory of the hero to whom she has the happiness to be allied. She is less beautiful than Madame Tallien, who continues to enjoy the admiration of Paris, and past the period of life for having children, but nevertheless a woman of great personal charms. Her daughters by a former marriage are represented as some of the most beautiful and graceful women in France.

When Bonaparte officially notified to the Batavian government his elevation to the first consulship of the French republic, he repeated the assurances made by the preceding rulers of France, that the independence of Holland should at all times be an object of the peculiar care of the French nation; and it was afterwards communicated to the directory, that the interests of the Batavian republic would be faithfully attended to, in any negociations that might be carried on between the governments of France and Great Britain.

Since

Since Bonaparte's acceſſion to the government of France, the Dutch have been leſs haraſſed than formerly with contributions and exactions. A loan was indeed attempted to be negociated at Amſterdam in favour of France, but without the ſucceſs that was expected. It did not entirely fail, but only an inconſiderable ſum was ſubſcribed. The laſt requiſition made to the Dutch was for a quantity of cheeſe and butter, for the uſe of the French fleet at Toulon; and five large ſwift-ſailing cutters, laden with theſe commodities, for the above-mentioned deſtination, ſailed from the Maeſe on the day that we entered that river. Other veſſels of a ſimilar conſtruction, and with the ſame cargoes, had put to ſea a few days before.

The amount of the contributions, under various forms, levied by the French on the Dutch, it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to aſcertain. A merchant of the greateſt reſpectability, whoſe accuracy and information I have every reaſon to confide in, converſing

verſing with me on the ſubject, eſtimated his loſſes from the French, in the various ways of requiſitions, loans, *voluntary* contributions, the expence of keeping, or furniſhing quarters for ſoldiers, and other items too long for enumeration, at five-and-forty per cent on his capital. The circumſtances of his traffic perhaps made the quota of his contributions heavier than was felt by the generality of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and this he admitted himſelf; but he contended, that the general loſs ſuſtained by Holland from the French could not be far ſhort of forty per cent on the whole capital of the country. The amount of the loſſes ſuſtained by the republic from other cauſes, he could not pretend to aſcertain. He urged with great plauſibility, that England had ſuffered an equal, if not a more ſerious diminution of its capital, from the enormous debt incurred by the war, and the profligate expenditure of its miniſters. No opinion prevails in Holland more generally than that, whenever peace is reſtored to Europe,

Europe, a national bankruptcy will take place in Great Britain; and this perſuaſion is ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that many of the Dutch who have property in the Engliſh funds, account it of no more value than their French aſſignats.

I ſhall now conclude my remarks on the revolution of Holland, with a ſhort detail of the probable future ſtate of the country, according to the ideas of well-informed perſons in it, whenever a general peace ſhall take place.

Greatly as the Dutch nation has ſuffered by the war, as well before as ſince its conqueſts by the French, its condition is not yet deſperate, or its ſalvation hopeleſs. Its opulence is waſted, but the ſources from whence that opulence was derived, though impoveriſhed, are not dried up. The heavy calamities that have fallen on Holland, have in ſome degree produced a beneficial effect; they have opened the eyes of the nation to a true ſenſe of its condition, and obliged the people to the exerciſe of thoſe virtues—frugality, temperance, and ſimplicity of manners—

which formerly contributed ſo largely to the proſperity of the republic.

By the overthrow of the old government, the nation is exonerated from a vaſt maſs of corruption, feebleneſs, and abuſes; and however defective the preſent ſyſtem may be, it is, for moſt uſeful purpoſes, leſs faulty than the ſubverted conſtitution. The abolition of the ariſtocracy of Holland, though that body was neither numerous nor powerful, ought to be regarded as an event fortunate for the republic; and ſtill more muſt its deliverance from the authority of the ſtadholder, as it was increaſed and eſtabliſhed in 1787, be conſidered as a change favourable to the intereſts of Holland.

At no diſtant period, the faults of the preſent government of Holland may be obviated, and a ſalutary ſyſtem eſtabliſhed, which ſhall conduct the republic to its former proſperity and greatneſs. The principal objection to the preſent ſyſtem is, that the commercial part of the republic has not an influence, in the deliberations and proceedings of the legiſlature, equal to its importance.

portance. Were peace to be reſtored, this evil, unleſs ſpeedily remedied, would produce the moſt miſchievous conſequences.

To reſtore the commerce of Holland, encouragement muſt be given to the old mercantile ſyſtem and intereſt: the rich capitaliſts of the country, who have emigrated in conſequence of the revolution, muſt be invited and allured to return; and the great trading companies of Amſterdam, and the other cities of the republic, muſt be re-eſtabliſhed with all their former immunities and privileges. This is contrary to the ſyſtem recommended by eminent writers in France and England, who contend for free trade, and diſclaim againſt excluſive privileges, but by ſuch a ſyſtem alone can the commerce of Holland be revived.

Should the wiſe policy be purſued, of placing the commerce of the republic, as far as poſſible, on its former footing, the induſtry, frugality, and unwearied perſeverance, of the Dutch nation, will, in a few years of tranquillity, with ſuch encouragement as a legiſlature well verſed in mer-

cantile affairs may further beſtow, not only recover from its misfortunes, but probably arrive at a ſtate of opulence, little inferior to the moſt flouriſhing days of the republic.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

Climate of Amſterdam.—Dutch phyſiognomies.—The village of Broek.—Cuſtom of having two doors to each houſe in North Holland.—Carvings over the doors.—The houſes and gardens of Broek.—Extreme cleanlineſs of its ſtreets.—Phlegm of the inhabitants of Broek.—Saardam.—Number of windmills.—Decay of trade.—Houſe where Peter the Great reſided.—A funeral.—Departure from Amſterdam.—The canal from Amſterdam to Utrecht.—Utrecht.—Its ſurrender to Lewis XIV. in 1672, and to the Pruſſians in 1787.—The univerſity of Utrecht.—Nimeguen.—Return to Rotterdam.—Departure for England.—Detention at Máaſlandſluys.

Maaſlandſluys, December, 1800.

THE atmoſphere of Amſterdam, from its marſhy ſituation, is at all periods of the year loaded with humid vapours; and I believe we had not the good fortune, during a re-

fidence of about a week in that city, to catch one glimpſe of the ſun. I will not venture to hazard any conjecture what effect the air has on the inhabitants of the place, but for the moſt part they are a dull and heavy-looking race, with countenances full of cares and concerns of buſineſs. I muſt, however, obſerve here, that I have not ſeen in Holland one Dutch face which had the leaſt expreſſion of that deſpicable quality, cunning, in it, either on the Exchange, in ſhops, or in the ſtreets; and, on the contrary, I do not think I ever ſaw a ſhopkeeper in England, on whoſe countenance that quality was not moſt legibly written. A Dutchman's countenance, whatever his avocations may be, is honeſt, frank, and candid; and the only expreſſion which ever appears in it that is diſpleaſing, is an expreſſion of caution which borders on ſuſpicion. Moſt Dutch merchants, from education, example, and habit, are tainted more or leſs with the vice of avarice, or rather a ſtrong paſſion for accumulation; but, I believe, the merchants of no nation in the world are more to be praiſed

praiſed for their ſcrupulous honeſty and inflexible integrity; and let me add too, for their patriotiſm, public ſpirit, and munificence. What city in Europe can boaſt of charitable foundations more ſplendidly endowed than thoſe of Amſterdam? Its inſtitution * for the increaſe of knowledge and the encouragement of the fine arts is yet in its infancy, but its utility has already been proved, and in a few years it may vie with the oldeſt eſtabliſhed and moſt opulent ſocieties in Europe.

During our ſtay at Amſterdam, we croſſed the Y, to viſit the pleaſant villages of Broek and Saardam in North Holland. The one celebrated for its ſingular neatneſs, the other for its mills and extenſive yards for the building of ſhips.

The village of Broek is at the eaſy diſtance of ſix miles from Amſterdam, and inhabited chiefly by merchants of overgrown wealth, who, when the hours of buſineſs are over,

* The Felix Meritis.

retire from the tumult and confuſion of the city, to enjoy the tranquillity of a ſecluded village. Broek contains about an hundred houſes, each of which is decorated and painted with the niceſt care. To every houſe, as is the caſe throughout North Holland, there are two doors; one of which is never opened but when a corpſe or a chriſtening is carried from the houſe, and the other ſerves the ordinary purpoſes of the family. I could not learn the nature of the ſuperſtition from whence this cuſtom is ſuppoſed to have originated; and I believe it is peculiar to North Holland. To a ſtranger, there is ſomething ſolemn in the cuſtom; and we could not help contemplating theſe doors, opened only for ſepulchral rites, or to introduce a new-born infant into the chriſtian community, with a ſort of religious awe and reſpect.

Over ſome of theſe doors were carvings, deſcriptive of the lives of ſome of the former poſſeſſors of the houſes. One of theſe attracted a conſiderable portion of our notice. It was divided into four compartments. The

firſt deſcribed the embarkation of a young man on ſhip-board, and his relatives on the quay, weeping on account of his departure. The ſecond repreſented his arrival in a foreign part, where a number of Indians were waiting to receive him. The third deſcribed him as a planter, ſurrounded by his ſlaves, and the productions of the tropics. The laſt related the ſtory of his return to his country, advanced in life, and bleſſed with wealth. The date affixed to it was 1661. Another of theſe carvings deſcribed the hiſtory of a ſhopkeeper's life; and a third, that of a man who had acquired his riches by the whale-fiſhery.

The houſes of Broek are painted with different colours, but chiefly with green and white, and ſome of them in addition are gilded. They are ſmall, few of them containing more than eight rooms, and none of them above two ſtories high. Before moſt of the houſes is a ſmall garden, dreſſed out in a fantaſtic ſtyle with ſhells, pieces of ſtained glaſs, bits of broken china, and the like; and the ſhrubs and trees are tortured into

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all manner of ſhapes. In one garden, a tree was cut into the ſhape of a table, with bottles and glaſſes on it; another tree was lopped and bent to reſemble a ſhip; and a bed of box-wood deſcribed the chace of a hare. This ridiculous taſte of horticulture began to prevail in Holland about the time when the Dutch, having ſhaken off the yoke of the Spaniards, applied themſelves almoſt wholly to commerce, conſequently neglected all elegant and agreeable purſuits; and it continues to prevail at Broek in its original ſtyle, two centuries old, unaltered and unimproved.

In the ſtreets of Broek, cleanlineſs ſeems to nave obtained its *ne plus ultra*. They are cloſely paved with ſmall bricks, the interſtices of which are frequently ſcraped, and not a ſpeck of dirt or blade of graſs is any-where to be perceived. No animal is permitted with unhallowed ſteps to profane the ſtreets of Broek. The dogs and cats of the place are rigorouſly confined in the houſes of their reſpective owners, and never permitted to breathe abroad the delicious air

of

of freedom. Even the birds of the air are chaſed away from this abode of cleanlineſs, leſt, like the obſcene harpies which Virgil tells us of, they ſhould defile with their excrements the ſtreets or the houſes.

The virtue of cleanlineſs is carried in Broek to a painful extreme. I never ſaw a more joyleſs, uncomfortable, and melancholy place. The houſes and gardens were fit only to amuſe the infancy or the dotage of life, to gratify the vanities of childhood, or to give employment to the caprices of old age.

The inhabitants of Broek, even children, partake of the melancholy of the place. We ſaw a group of boys, of an age when gaiety and playfulneſs are qualities almoſt inherent in youth, ſoberly ſeated by the ſide of one of the canals, with countenances as contemplative and ſedate as could have been expected in old men; and we paſſed them without exciting ſo much of their curioſity, as to make them turn their heads to ſee which way we went. If any women were at the windows,

windows, they haſtily withdrew as we approached; and if the door of a houſe was open, it was ſhut with inhoſpitable rudeneſs. Want of curioſity is, I believe, a quality characteriſtic of the Dutch nation, and it certainly reigns with ſovereign dullneſs in the village of Broek *.

From Broek, we drove in our voiture to Saardam. Part of the road is on the dyke which defends North Holland from the waters of the Y. At different commanding points of this road, there were batteries, mounting three or four large guns, which had been erected the year before, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh, had they advanced againſt Amſterdam. The guns of ſome of theſe batteries were removing by Dutch ſoldiers; and we were told, that in ſo ſecure a ſtate was the country ſuppoſed to be, that it was intended the whole ſhould be razed.

* The bark of the tree of liberty at Broek, according to the taſte of its inhabitants, is painted with the national colours. It is a young tree, and alive!

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In Saardam and its environs there are about two thouſand windmills, which at a diſtance form ſomething like the appearance of a foreſt. The trade of the place is ſo greatly impoveriſhed, that ſcarcely two hundred of theſe mills were at work, and a large proportion of the number unemployed ſeemed in a ruinous and decayed condition. The war has moſt materially affected the proſperity of Saardam, by putting a ſtop to the navigation of Holland, and conſequently to the demand for ſhips, the conſtruction of which was the principal ſource of the opulence of Saardam. I did not ſee a ſingle ſhip upon the ſtocks at Saardam, but there were two or three large men-of-war in a wet dock, which I underſtood had been lately launched, and ſome frigates were repairing. In the different yards for ſhip building which we paſſed, there was a great abundance of excellent timber for the conſtruction of veſſels, but very few carpenters were at work in any of the yards. In ſome of them it did not appear that the leaſt

work

work had been done for a conſiderable period of time, and rank graſs was growing on many of the ſpots where mighty fleets had been created.

We viſited the hut where Peter the Great of Ruſſia reſided, when, to acquire a practical knowledge in the art of ſhip-building, he laid aſide his imperial dignity, and worked for ſome time as a common carpenter in the dock-yards and naval arſenals of Saardam. The cottage in which this prince lived is one of the meaneſt in the town, and without other accommodations than what might have ſuited the circumſtances of the humbleſt mechanic. The hut was full of children, and abominably dirty, a fault that is not to be charged on the generality of Dutch cottages. A nitche was ſhewn us in the room which contained the emperor's bed, an execrable engraving of him by a French artiſt, and a copper coin on which his head was impreſſed. The woman of the houſe alſo ſhewed us two wine-glaſſes, which were given her ſome years ago by the preſent Emperor of Ruſſia, then the Archduke Paul, when

when he viſited the hut where his anceſtor reſided: a ſingular preſent for a young prince on ſuch an occaſion!

A funeral was performing in the church-yard of Saardam as we paſſed, and we ſtopt to obſerve the ceremony. It was the interment of an indigent perſon, and the obſequies were performed without the aſſiſtance of a prieſt. The coffin was of plain fir, unvarniſhed and unornamented, and the grave in which it was depoſited was a large hole, containing about a dozen coffins, and capable of receiving perhaps as many more. After the corpſe was put into this populous grave, it was covered with boards, and the mourners departed. The frugality of the Dutch is ſcarcely more remarkable in any thing, than the economy of their funerals. A perſon would be deſpiſed by his neighbours as a profligate ſpendthrift who ſhould beſtow on a deceaſed relation a magnificent interment, and there are ſumptuary laws againſt expenſive burials. Prayers at the grave, or the tolling of a bell, are conſidered as idle ſuperſtitions,

ſtitions, nor do female mourners ever attend theſe laſt ſad offices of humanity, to weep with decent and pious ſorrow over the remains of their departed friends.

The day after our return from our excurſion to Broek and Saardam, we took our leave, probably for ever, of the capital of Holland.—Let me here perform the promiſe which I made to the good miſtreſs of our hotel, that on my return to England I would ſpeak of her houſe in the terms which I thought it deſerved.—The civilities and highly uſeful attentions of Mrs. Ooſterlinck during our ſtay in Amſterdam, entitle her to my moſt reſpectful acknowledgements; and I can ſafely recommend her hotel, the Doele, on the Cingel, as one of the moſt pleaſant and agreeable houſes of accommodation to be met with in Holland. The Cingel is one of the principal ſtreets in Amſterdam, and near the centre of the town. It may not be improper to add, that our charges at the Doele were extremely reaſonable; a full third leſs, I am ſatisfied, than, under ſimilar circumſtances,

circumſtances, we ſhould have paid in England.

We travelled from Amſterdam to Utrecht in treckſchuyts, and were ſo fortunate on our paſſage as to obtain in all the boats places in the roof. Our journey occupied about nine hours, and we arrived at Utrecht much fatigued and exhauſted. On each ſide of the canal, from Amſterdam to Utrecht, there is, with little intermiſſion, a continuation of pleaſant houſes, country ſeats, and gardens adorned, in the Dutch taſte, with groteſque temples, ſtatues, ſtagnate pools, Chineſe bridges, and trees planted in a ſtraight line, or tortured into a thouſand ſhapes. The country through which we paſſed ſeemed extremely populous and well cultivated; and there was leſs water on the lands than we had obſerved elſewhere, not becauſe it was higher, but becauſe the mills for pumping it off into the canals are more numerous, and ſerve better to drain the land.

Utrecht is one of the moſt agreeable cities in the Batavian republic, and ſomewhat larger than the Hague. On account of the

pleaſantneſs of its ſituation, and the imagined or real ſalubrity of the air, Utrecht is choſen by many perſons who have made a fortune by commerce, and have the good ſenſe, in the evening of their lives, to quit the buſtle of trade for the tranquil pleaſures of retirement, as the place of their retreat. A more eligible one could ſcarcely be choſen.

The ſtreets of Utrecht are large and ſpacious, and the ſame cleanlineſs reigns in the town which diſtinguiſhes the moſt favoured cities of Holland. It was formerly a poſt of conſiderable military ſtrength and importance; but, happily for its inhabitants, its fortifications are no longer in a condition to provoke or reſiſt the attack of the enemy. In 1672 it ſurrendered to Lewis the Fourteenth without oppoſition, and for upwards of a year Utrecht was the theatre of the triumphs of that magnificent monarch. He commanded his ſoldiers to ſpare the beautiful mall, which extends near a mile from the town, ſhaded with three rows of trees, and his clemency was celebrated by the venal poets of times; but for this moderation,

deration, or act of forbearance, he levied a contribution of two hundred thouſand pounds on the inhabitants of the place.

In 1787 Utrecht ſurrendered to the arms of Pruſſia without making any reſiſtance, though the regular forces in the town amounted to ſeven thouſand men, and its inhabitants were animated with the moſt violent animoſity againſt the Prince of Orange, whoſe cauſe the Pruſſian army ſupported. On this occaſion, treachery was imputed to the governor, the rhingrave of Salm; for though it was not ſuppoſed that the town could have held out long againſt the Pruſſian forces, it was contended that, with the ſtrength which it contained, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, it was baſe and cowardly to ſurrender the place without ſome oppoſition. The character of the prince who commanded the garriſon juſtified the ſuſpicions of his treachery.

On the approach of the French army in 1795, the city of Utrecht threw open its gates, and the republican troops were received as friends and deliverers. No-where

throughout the United Provinces was the diſpoſition of the people more favourable to the French than that at Utrecht; and, notwithſtanding the ſevere impoſitions that have been laid on them, the inhabitants of the place ſtill continue to entertain the ſtrongeſt attachment to France.

The univerſity of Utrecht has ſuffered more by the war than that of Leyden, and ſcarcely contains at preſent fifty ſtudents. It has at all periods, I believe, been inferior to the celebrated academy of the latter city, whether for the learning and reputation of its profeſſors, the number of ſtudents which they attracted, or the aſſiſtance afforded to pupils by public libraries, botanical gardens, or anatomical preparations. As people are led by their partialities in favour of certain opinions, the univerſity of Utrecht is cenſured or praiſed for its attachment to, and cultivation of, French principles; while, on the contrary, though early in the new order of things a deputation of ſtudents congratulated the proviſional repreſentatives of Holland on the revolution in the government

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that had happily taken place, the univerſity of Leyden is ſuppoſed ſtrongly to favour the old ſyſtem.

Before we left Rotterdam, our friend General Chorié expected daily to be appointed to the command of Nimeguen, and we then promiſed him that we would extend our tour to that fortreſs, in order that we might have the pleaſure of ſeeing him again, before we quitted the Batavian republic. At Utrecht I found, from the advanced period of the ſeaſon and other circumſtances, that ——— could not make the excurſion without conſiderable inconvenience, and therefore, leaving her at the *Château d'Anvers*, I took a ſeat in the poſt chariot for Nimeguen. My companions were a French officer and his lady, and their politeneſs and agreeable converſation beguiled the tediouſneſs of the journey.

On my arrival at Nimeguen, I was greatly diſappointed to find, that the appointment of General Chorié to the command of that fortreſs had not yet been confirmed, and conſequently the pleaſure which I promiſed

myſelf from meeting with a perſon to whoſe civilities and attentions I was ſo deeply indebted, was prevented.

Every part of Nimeguen exhibits the melancholy effects of the late ſiege. Houſes deſtroyed and rebuilt, public edifices in ruins, trees ſhattered, and the pavement of the ſtreets torn up to prevent the rebounding of balls and ſhells, and yet unreplaced. The fortifications of Nimeguen, at the time when it was attacked, were in good condition; the Dutch garriſon in the town was ſtrong, and an army of thirty thouſand Engliſh lay encamped on the other ſide of the Waal, from whence, by means of a flying bridge, they could throw ſuccours into the town. It was therefore expected to ſuſtain a ſiege of conſiderable length, if not to diſappoint the views of the aſſailants. Beſides its ordinary fortifications, it was ſtrengthened with additional outworks, and its garriſon was compoſed of the flower of the Dutch army.——But all its means of defence were ineffectual againſt the ardour of the beſieging army. After Nimeguen had been bombarded

barded ſome days, preparations were made by the French for a general aſſault. Theſe meaſures alarmed the Engliſh, and they withdrew their forces from the town. The Dutch troops would have followed them, but the bridge was broken down by the enemy's artillery, and being too weak for reſiſtance now that they were deſerted by their allies, they were obliged to ſurrender to the French without conditions. The town was indeed taken by aſſault, but the humanity of General Souham, who commanded the French, preſerved the garriſon and inhabitants of the place from the exerciſe of thoſe ſeverities which the uſage of war authoriſes in towns that are taken by ſtorm.

The inhabitants of Nimeguen diſcourſe of this calamitous period with the moſt vivid emotions, and a general air of melancholy and dejection reigns throughout the place. Beggars are numerous, and many of them appear as if they had enjoyed happier days.

The French garriſon in Nimeguen conſiſted of about eight hundred men, moſt of whom had received wounds in the ſer-

vice. Were the fortreſs to be beſieged, it would require a force of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men to defend the works; but happily ſuch an event is improbable. The fortifications of Nimeguen have been repaired ſince the ſiege, and are in a good condition; but the out-works are deſtroyed, and the cultivated garden now ſmiles where the hideous battery appeared. Nimeguen is one of the principal depots of the ſtores of the French army in the Batavian republic; and probably will continue, though a general peace ſhould be made, and by the treaty between the two republics it is then to be reſtored to the Dutch, to be garriſoned by French troops.

Diſappointed of ſeeing General Chorié, I ſtopt but a ſingle day at Nimeguen, and returned to Utrecht by night. We quitted that city early in the morning in a treckſchuyt, and arrived in the evening at Rotterdam.

Our wiſhes now anxiouſly turned towards England. Our tour had been productive of much pleaſure, and we continued to experience at Rotterdam the ſame hoſpitable treatment

ment that we had before met with; but the objects of curiosity to interest us being diminished, the desire of returning home almost entirely possessed our thoughts. Unterrified with the prospect of encountering the turbulence and dangers of the North Sea at an advanced period of the year, — preferred that we should sail for London in some vessel from Rotterdam, rather than return by the route of Calais, as we once proposed and intended; and a sloop belonging to Mr. —— being on the eve of departure, we agreed for our passage on board of it.—From this gentleman and Mrs. —— we received during our stay in Rotterdam attentions and civilities which can never be effaced from our minds.

The accommodations of our vessel (which sails under the Prussian flag, but is English property) are much on a par with those of the sloop in which we were captured; but the captain and his crew, Prussians or Dutch, cultivate the virtue of cleanliness out of comparison more carefully than our English captain and his sailors did.

Change of wind obliged our vessel to come

to

to anchor off Maaſlandſluys, and the ſame cauſe has detained us ſome days. Our time has been agreeably employed. The ſhort diſtance between the Briel and Maaſlandſluys, has afforded us an opportunity of renewing our intercourſe with Commodore ——— and Captain ———. The better we are acquainted with theſe excellent perſons, the more reaſon we have to love and admire them. Generous, brave, and benevolent men! may they long live, an honour and a defence to their country, an ornament and examples to humanity! May they live to ſee, and long enjoy, the full completion of their patriotic wiſhes—to ſee the commerce of their country revive, and its independence and liberty eſtabliſhed on a ſure and ſolid baſis!—the extinction of party feuds and violence, and the reſtoration of domeſtic harmony and tranquillity to the boſom of their native land!.....

Whatever changes the revolution may have produced in the manners and habits of the Dutch, I am perſuaded that there remains in the nation a rich fund of *old* Batavian

vian virtue, integrity, and honour: that the genuine principles of liberty are nowhere better underſtood, or more fervently admired, though, by the unhappy circumſtances of the times, perverted or neglected: that no-where are the domeſtic and ſocial duties of life more ſedulouſly cultivated.—May the exerciſe of theſe virtues ſpeedily be encouraged by the reſtoration of peace!

APPENDIX.

A.

Proclamation of the Repreſentatives of the French Nation to the People of Batavia. Amſterdam, 1ſt of Pluvioſe (January 20), 1795, the third Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

THE repreſentatives of the French nation with the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Maeſe, to the people of Batavia.

The tyrants who have combined againſt the freedom of nations, declared war againſt us, and threatened to conquer and ſubjugate us.

The treacherous ſtadtholder, having reduced your government under his power, entered into the baſe confederacy formed by tyrants, to force a great people to ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery.

Your blood, your treaſures, were laviſhed for this; but the ſucceſs of our arms has made manifeſt the juſtice of our cauſe, and our all-conquering armies have entered into your country.

Batavians!

Batavians! we know you too well to imagine you would be accomplices in ſo abominable a conſpiracy. Our enemies are alſo yours. The blood of the founders of the United Netherlands ſtill flows in your veins; and in the midſt of the confuſion of war we conſider you as our friends and allies. It is under this name that we enter your country. We ſeek not to terrify, but to inſpire you with confidence. It is but a few years ſince a tyrannic conqueror preſcribed you laws; we have aboliſhed them, and reſtore you to freedom.

We come not to make you ſlaves; the French nation ſhall preſerve to you your independence.

The armies of the republic ſhall obſerve the ſtricteſt military diſcipline.

All crimes and civil offences, of citizens againſt citizens, ſhall be puniſhed with the moſt rigid juſtice.

Perſonal ſafety ſhall be ſecured, and property protected.

The freedom of religious worſhip ſhall ſuffer no reſtraint.

The laws and cuſtoms of the country ſhall be, proviſionally, maintained.

The people of Batavia, exerciſing that ſovereignty which is their right, ſhall alone poſſeſs the

the power to alter or modify the form of their government.

GILLET,
BELLEGARDE,
J. B. LACOSTE,
JOUBERT,
PORTIEZ de L'OISE.

B.

Speech of P. Paulus, Preſident of the Aſſembly of the Proviſional Repreſentatives of the free People of Holland, at the Opening of its Sittings, Jan. 27th, 1795.

BEHOLD, citizens, at length the grand baſis of your liberty founded, and the ariſtocratic edifice of your ancient government overthrown. Doubtleſs this baſis will prove durable, having been fixed by the expreſs will, and under the ſupreme direction, of the Almighty, whoſe all-powerful hand has been ſo manifeſt in the events which have lately happened to us. During one of the moſt glorious campaigns of which the annals of the world ſpeak, the French army had already approached our frontier, when the natural force of our country, its rivers, its waters

waters of every kind, appeared to retard in ſome degree, and during a certain period, their progreſs;—for experience has ſhewn, that nothing can reſiſt the courage, the activity, and the indefatigable perſeverance, of the French nation; and that frontier towns, fortreſſes, and ſtrong holds of every kind, fall before their zeal and inconceiveable efforts;—but at a moment, however, when it was leaſt expected, and when the campaign was thought to be at an end, a froſt, the moſt intenſe which almoſt ever was known, transformed at once our rivers, our canals, and our inundation, into roads and bridges, and what was eſteemed in former times the ſtrength of our country, and the ſecurity of our government, became the means of accelerating the progreſs of the arms of a nation which has ſolemnly and publicly declared, that they regard us not as enemies, but as brethren and allies. This ſtriking event ought to lead us to contemplate with reſpectful admiration the adorable ways of the Almighty, who, when the proſpect of the freedom of our country was otherwiſe diſtant and uncertain, thus ſaved the effuſion of ſo much blood, and ſnatched ſo many cities and countries from deſtruction.

Let us, our hearts being filled with gratitude, render

render thanks to God for this wonderful interference of his Providence; and ſince our liberty has ſo manifeſtly been founded by his will, let us keep his divine example before our eyes, and with all humility endeavour to make it the object of our imitation. Let juſtice, equity, and humanity, be the beginning and the end of all our actions and reſolutions; and, laying aſide all hatreds, all ſpirit of party, and of vengeance for former wrongs, let us remember that it was he who taught us to bleſs thoſe who curſe us.

Then will a bleſſing attend our labours; then and then alone will union ſpring up among us;—union, without which we have ſeen this country cannot exiſt, but with the aid of which we have a bright example in our annals that we are invincible.

Then tranquillity and calm will reign in every breaſt; and the foundation being thus happily laid, the edifice of our liberty will be gradually reared, amid the influence of virtue, of reaſon, and of philoſophy.

When the ſovereignty of the people ſhall have been acknowledged; when the inalienable rights of man, without diſtinction of religious or political opinions, ſhall have been ſolemnly declared; we may expect that peace, liberty, and

and ſecurity, which have ſo long been baniſhed from our land, will again take up their abode with us, and form the ſource of our common felicity.

It is for theſe moſt deſirable ends that I offer up my prayers to the Almighty, that he may grant us his divine bleſſing; that he may afford us all, and particularly to me whom this aſſembly has favoured with ſuch a mark of its confidence, his paternal aſſiſtance; and that he may turn the efforts which we are about to make to the happineſs of a people ſo long outraged, influenced, and oppreſſed.

C.

BANK OF AMSTERDAM.

Gazette Extraordinary of Amſterdam, Feb. 5, 1795.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THE proviſional repreſentatives of the people of Amſterdam, deeming it of the laſt importance to the commerce of this city that the public ſhould be informed of the ſtate of its bank, ſtyled the Bank of Exchange, and that the credit of the ſaid bank ſhould not be im-

peached, or ſuffer any diminution by erroneous opinions, by artful inſinuations, or by the firſt falſe impreſſions which rumours circulated relating to it might occaſion, have deemed it adviſable, and have reſolved to declare by this preſent writing, that according to the reports made on this ſubject by the committee of commerce and marine, duly authoriſed by the proviſional repreſentatives to examine into the ſtate of the ſaid bank, it appeared, that if the information given by the clerks in the bank, in anſwer to the enquiries of the committee, and if the balance laſt ſtruck, are correct, which ultimately will be minutely examined, *no deficiency whatever will exiſt in the ſaid bank*, and the debits and credits will preciſely balance, with this exception, that, *inſtead of ſpecie*, there have been received into the ſaid bank from time to time, as ſecurities for large ſums advanced by it within the laſt fifty years, a very conſiderable number of *bonds*, viz.

Seventy bonds of the India company of Amſterdam, guaranteed by the ſtates of that province, being each for 100,000 florins *banco*, at three per cent intereſt; beſides a ſimilar one of 50,000 *banco*; on which there will be due, according to the calculation of the ſaid clerks,

the

the ſum of 249,000 florins *banco*, for intereſt. On account of which bonds, the treaſurer of the ſaid city is debited in the aforeſaid balance 6,273,000 florins *banco*.

Beſides theſe, there are fifty bonds, each for 24,000 florins, on account of the provinces of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, belonging to the loan-office of this city, on which, according to the information of the clerks, the bank has advanced, agreeably to the aforeſaid balance, the ſum of 838,857 florins *banco*, on which there will be due for intereſt 30,000 florins.

In addition to which, the loan-office owes the bank, conformable to the ſame information, the ſum of 1,715,000 florins *banco*.

That further, if every thing ſhall appear as has been ſtated by the ſaid clerks, and ſterling being converted into ſtock, the treaſurer of the city will, in addition, owe to the bank, and for which it was made debtor at the cloſing of the accounts above alluded to, the ſum of

	F. 38,358	2	0
And what it owed at the actual cloſing of the accounts,	155,314	6	8
Making together, *banco*,	*F.* 193,672	8	8

There is alſo due, from the ſaid bank, 227,264 2 8, for which bonds were originally

nally given, but according to the clerks' ſtatement are burnt, but for which the city notwithſtanding paid intereſt annually to the bank.

That it is nevertheleſs obvious, that the city is reſponſible for this ſum as well as for the whole, as it ought to be conſidered with reſpect to it, not only as guarantee, but as actual debtor, to the bank.

That moreover, among other things in the ſaid bank, there has been found in ſubſtance all the ſpecie for which accountable receipts have been given, agreeable to the liſt made out and delivered to the committee of commerce and marine by the caſhiers of the bank, and which can, in conſequence, be at all times drawn out by the holders of the ſaid receipts, in exchange for them, when it ſhall pleaſe them ſo to do.

The aforeſaid proviſional repreſentatives have, therefore, not only taken the requiſite and moſt efficacious meaſures, that henceforward there ſhall not be delivered from, nor advanced by, the ſaid bank, contrary to its original inſtitution, any ſpecie whatſoever, by any authority, either as a loan or in any other illegal manner; but alſo that the ſaid bonds, lodged in the ſaid bank as ſecurities, as aforeſaid, ſhall be liquidated as ſoon as poſſible; and generally

that

that this city, as debtor to the bank, ſhall, with all practicable diſpatch, diſcharge in caſh the balance of its account with the ſaid bank; which being done, the proviſional repreſentatives declare that there can exiſt no deficiency of any kind ſoever, and that they will, without delay, take into their ſerious conſideration, and will carry into immediate effect, the means to obtain this end.

The proviſional repreſentatives, nevertheleſs, declare, that this notification is only made to maintain duly the credit of the bank of this city, and to tranquilliſe the minds of foreigners and the commercial part of its inhabitants. *But they deſire by no means to be conſidered as approving of, or confirming, the uſe that may have been made of the depoſits of the bank, and much leſs of diſcharging, by any thing in this proclamation, thoſe who may be reprehenſible on that ſubject.*

Given and publiſhed Feb. 5th, 1795, the firſt year of Batavian liberty. By order of the aforeſaid repreſentatives.

G. BRENDER.

A. BRANDIS, Secretary.

D.

*Extracts from a Proclamation of the Provisional Representatives of the Commune * of Amsterdam.*

" PHILOSOPHERS of all nations and ages have invariably judged, that when civil dissensions are over, the conquering party has always been guilty of injustice when it has thought worthy of punishment actions which the chiefs of the conquered party have done to maintain their cause, and has in consequence of these principles set on foot a general persecution. Actions which are at all times criminal; actions which are morally bad, independent of all political relations, and consequently always punishable; are then the only ones that can, according to the principles of justice be taken into consideration; are also the only actions which a righteous judge, whose judgment ought not to be directed by any influence of political passions, will esteem criminal and worthy of punishment; and not those actions which we at present consider as highly pernicious, but which have been committed

* They before styled themselves provisional representatives of the people of Amsterdam: the phrase *commune* was probably adopted in compliance with French forms, which now begin in some measure to prevail.

mitted under the eye, and with the plenary approbation of the preceding government."

"If we reject theſe principles, there is no longer ſecurity for any human action; and let it not be diſſembled, that he who broaches a contrary doctrine, proclaims in effect the right of the ſtrongeſt, and conſequently the favourite right of tyrants."

"It is a great miſtake to compare the circumſtances of France in the courſe of her revolution with ours. It was not in France a ſpirit of revenge for the crimes committed under the old government, which occaſioned the repeated ſcenes of terror that were exhibited; but the violent oppoſition to the revolution itſelf, which occaſioned the neceſſity of a proportionable vigilance to cruſh all conſpiracies. But what oppoſition have we to expect?"

"All political diſſenſions, all the revolutions that have taken place in this ſtate ſince its origin, vaniſh before ſo intereſting a revolution as the preſent. They were only diſputes between party and party; ſtruggles for power, between unprincipled men, in which the people were conſtantly duped. To-day it is the cauſe of the people itſelf in which we labour, in which you all ought to labour. To-day it is not a faction, but the nation herſelf, who is victorious.

ous. We muſt direct, therefore, our view, not to the welfare of a few deſpots, but to the happineſs of the whole nation."

The whole of the proclamation breathes a ſpirit of conciliation and generoſity exactly conformable with the above extracts; and for nobleneſs of ſentiment, ſound and liberal policy, and humane, enlightened views, was perhaps never exceeded by any ſtate ordinance that has appeared in the world.

E.

Treaty of Alliance, offenſive and defenſive, concluded between the Republic of France, and the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

Art. 1. THE republic of France acknowledges and guarantees the independence of the republic of the United Provinces, and the abolition of the ſtadtholderate.

2. There ſhall be a laſting peace, amity, and good underſtanding, between the two republics.

3. There ſhall alſo be an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, againſt all the enemies of the reſpective republics, during the preſent war.

4. There ſhall be an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, againſt Great Britain for ever.

5. No

5. No treaty ſhall be entered into with Great Britain, without the conſent of the two republics.

6. The French republic ſhall make no peace with any power whatever, without compriſing in it the republic of the United Provinces.

7. The republic of the United Provinces ſhall furniſh for the preſent campaign, twelve ſhips of the line, and eighteen frigates, for the North-ſea and Baltic.

8. The republic of the United Provinces ſhall furniſh for the preſent campaign half the number of troops which the republic ſhall have on foot.

9. All the forces employed in actual ſervice ſhall be under the command of French generals. The arrangements for the campaign ſhall be made in concert: the ſtates-general may ſend a deputy, who ſhall ſit and have a deliberative voice in the committee of public ſafety at Paris.

10. All arſenals and ammunition belonging to the republic of the United Provinces ſhall be reſtored.

11. From the ratification of the preſent treaty, reſtitution ſhall be made of all the countries and places belonging to the United Provinces, with the exceptions contained in the following articles.

12. Dutch

12. Dutch Flanders, and the right ſide of the Hondt, Maeſtricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, ſhall be reſerved by the French republic as indemnities.

13. A French garriſon ſhall be admitted, in peace and war, into the town of Fluſhing, until other arrangements ſhall have been decided.

14. The port of Fluſhing ſhall be open to the two republics, conformably to the rules laid down in the ſeparate articles attached to this treaty.

15. In caſe of hoſtilities on the ſide of the Rhine, or of Zealand, French garriſons ſhall be admitted into Breda, Bois le Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

16. At the epoch of a general peace, ceſſion ſhall be made to the United Provinces of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the ceſſion contained in the 12th article, and in a poſition moſt convenient to the republic of the United Provinces.

17. Until the general peace, ſuch a number of French troops ſhall be ſtationed in the neceſſary places as ſhall be deemed adequate to the defence of them.

18. The navigation of the Scheldt and the Hondt ſhall be open to the two republics: French and Dutch veſſels ſhall be indiſcriminately admitted, under the ſame conditions.

19. The

19. The French republic gives up to the republic of the United Provinces all the immoveable effects belonging to the houſe of Orange, and all the moveable property not yet diſpoſed of.

20. As indemnification for the expences of the war, the republic of the United Provinces ſhall pay to the republic of France one hundred millions of livres; either in ſpecie, or in bills upon foreign powers, as ſhall be agreed upon.

21. The French republic ſhall uſe their good offices with foreign powers in favour of the United Provinces, in order that they may obtain the payment of the ſums due to them before the war.

22. No aſylum ſhall be given by the republic of the United Provinces to the French emigrants, and no aſylum ſhall be given by the republic of France to the Orange emigrants.

23. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified within two decades, or ſooner if poſſible.

Concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of May, 1795; afterwards ratified by both the contracting parties.

FINIS.

T. Daviſon,
White-Friars.

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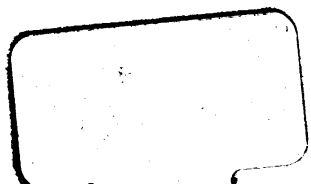
This Work possesses considerable merit; and when the long-expected hour of peace shall set at liberty the gay, the restless, the spendthrifts, and the invalids, who pant after Voyages and Travels to the delightful regions of France, Switzerland, and Italy, it will be one of the most useful Companions they can take with them. The subjects are arranged with Judgment, Taste, and Precision, and calculated to spare the British Traveller the trouble, expence, and inconvenience of incumbering his baggage with ten or twelve duodecimo volumes of *Vade-mecums*, the contents of which Miss Starke has dexterously engrafted on her own genuine stock of knowledge and observation. The result of a careful examination of her historical narratives enables us to declare, that her work contains a fund of information entirely new, and a perusal of her judicious remarks on the late Revolutions in Italy may serve as a lesson of instruction to Ministers of State. *European Magazine.*

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